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WYNKYN DE WORDE &  
HIS CONTEMPORARIES





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ORCHARD OF SYON. W. DE WORDE, 1519

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WYNKYN DE WORDE &  
HIS CONTEMPORARIES  
FROM THE DEATH OF CAXTON  
*to* 1535

A CHAPTER IN ENGLISH PRINTING

BY

HENRY R. PLOMER

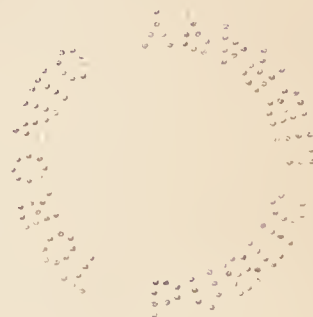
AUTHOR OF "A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH PRINTING"

"ENGLISH PRINTERS' ORNAMENTS" ETC. ETC.



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## PREFACE

**I**N this work it is proposed to give the history of William Caxton's immediate successors.

The limit of date coincides with the death of Wynkyn de Worde in 1535, and it may be called the second milestone on the highway of English printing, as well as marking the end of the old order of things, namely, the downfall of Papal supremacy in England. It embraces not only the lives of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson, two of the most prolific of the printers in England at that time, but also of those two remarkable men, John and William Rastell, as, although the latter lived some years longer, he gave up printing in 1535.

King Henry VII. as a book collector, King Henry VIII. tilting at Martin Luther, Sir Thomas More wielding his pen and finally giving his life for the old religion; Erasmus, scholar, writer, and friend of booksellers and printers both abroad and in England; Dean Colet, his "gossip," and the founder of St Paul's School; Skelton the poet, and Andrew Borde the physician and jester, are

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

but a few of the celebrated people whose work will be met with in the history of these presses.

The output of Wynkyn de Worde alone might easily fill a volume; but it is not so much the number of books he printed (upwards of 800), but rather the character of that output that makes his work attractive. He has been well termed "the popular printer." In this respect he followed the example of his old master, and gave the public what would either move it to tears or laughter, cure its ailments both of mind and body, show it how to fish, to hawk, or to cook, or teach it how to speak Latin correctly. Further, he printed these books in a handy form, rendering them as attractive as he could by the use of quaint initials, title-pages within woodcut borders, and a plentiful use of illustrations. At the same time, De Worde did not neglect the larger size books, and some of his folios, such as the *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the *Vitas Patrum*, and the various *Missals* and *Hour Books* that came from his press were amongst the best specimens of typography to be met with in this country.

Richard Pynson, while falling behind De Worde, with an output of some six hundred items, was, on the whole,

## *Preface*

his superior as a workman, and produced many books, which, like the *Morton Missal*, were far in advance of anything that had been produced by any other printer in England. As Printer to the King, he issued large numbers of Proclamations, Year Books, and Statutes.

Much additional information concerning Pynson's life has been found of late years, and is here woven into one connected narrative.

Julyan Notary was the printer of some interesting books, and his type and ornaments are worth studying; while Richard and William Faques, though their output was small, were Printers to the King, and printed one or two curious books, now of great rarity.

John Rastell, lawyer, printer, playwright, traveller, and friend of Sir Thomas More, is one of the most fascinating characters in the whole history of English printing. About him too, much has been learnt since the old text-books were written, and his son William, who became a Judge under Queen Mary, took up the management of his father's printing-house for a few years, and is noted as the printer of several of John Heywood's plays and as editor of the *Life* of his uncle.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Since this work was first begun three of the foremost English bibliographers have died—Mr F. Jenkinson and Mr C. Sayle, both of Cambridge, and Mr E. G. Duff of Oxford. Their places will be hard to fill, and to their researches the author of this work is greatly indebted. He also desires to express his thanks to the Royal Society of Antiquaries for their permission to reproduce a portion of William Faques' *Proclamation* on the Coinage.

HENRY R. PLOMER

July 1925



INITIAL. DE WORDE. c. 1510

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

*The state of the book trade at Caxton's death—The importation of books—The Act of 1484—St Paul's Churchyard and its booksellers—Jealousy of the native workmen—Final abolition of the Act in 1535.*



## CHAPTER I

**T**HREE powerful factors were moulding the thoughts and characters of the people of England, fashioning the books they read and shaping the destinies of the nation at the time of Caxton's death.

Most potential of these was the change slowly but steadily taking place in the attitude of the people towards the Church of Rome. More than a century had elapsed since the first translation of the Bible into English, usually ascribed to Wiclif; and though for the moment nothing further had been done in that direction, except Caxton's rendering of Bible stories in the *Golden Legend*, the desire was still strong and only awaiting the hour and the man. Almost as long a period had passed since Simon of Sudbury, meeting a party of pilgrims on their way to Canterbury, had denounced pilgrimages as a waste of time and money. Meanwhile, in spite of Papal Bulls, the thunderings of Archbishops and Bishops, imprisonment and death by fire, Lollardism had grown in strength with the years. Wherever Wiclif's writings had spread the movement was strongest. Yet it was not wholly a religious movement, but had a strong leaven of social unrest, poverty, hunger, and dearth of employment, following the Black Death, being largely responsible for this side of the Lollard

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

movement. Within fifty years of Caxton's death the political, religious, and social unrest became a torrent that swept all before it.

This great and overwhelming result was largely helped by the second of the three factors, the rapid growth of what was called the "new learning." Begun in Italy, this second movement had spread over Europe, but at Caxton's death was only just beginning to take root in England. In 1486 Thomas Linacre, one of its first apostles, a Canterbury man, was a student in Florence studying Greek, and in 1488 he was joined by William Grocyn, a Fellow of New College, Oxford, who was destined to play no small part in shaping the curriculum of that University. John Colet, who has been called by Dean Stanley the first scholar of his time, became Vicar of St Dunstan's, Stepney, in 1485, and held that living until 1505. He too was a man of scholarly attainments, with a hatred of all superstitious idolatry, who saw the need for educational reform, and who, when he became Dean of St Paul's in 1504, founded the great school which still flourishes, and instituted a more humane system of teaching than had hitherto prevailed. Moreover, in the very year of Caxton's death, Thomas More, then a lad, was placed in the household of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the following year went to Oxford, where he became the pupil of Linacre and Grocyn, and laid the foundation of that learning that

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ultimately raised him to the position of Lord Chancellor of England.

Yet another famous scholar of that time, William Lily, the grammarian, was at Caxton's death in Italy studying Greek and Latin.

But the personality that stands out most vividly from the canvas of those who helped the "new learning" is that of Erasmus, of Rotterdam. He early caught the spirit of the Renaissance. Ready witted and of sturdy independence, with a love of books and a power of absorbing all that was best in them, of untiring energy, he broke through all the limitations of his early life and became the leading spirit of the movement. In 1499 he paid his first visit to England and was heartily welcomed by Colet, More, and other English scholars. His writings became popular in this country, though, as far as we know, only on one occasion did he employ an English printer. It was with Colet that he visited Canterbury and was shown the costly gifts made to the shrine of St Thomas à Becket, on which occasion Colet forcibly expressed his disgust at being asked to kiss the shoe of St Thomas at Harbledown. Erasmus was frequently the guest of Sir Thomas More, the two being drawn together by their intellectual tastes and not by similarity in religious opinions, Sir Thomas More remaining faithful to the old religion throughout his life.

Both these movements quickened the desire for books,

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and were largely responsible for the passing of an Act in 1484, regulating the book trade. This was the third of the factors in operation at Caxton's death. The position was this. Caxton's press was fully employed printing English books and translations of foreign works into English, made for the most part by Caxton himself—work of the highest educational and national value. The other printers then in England had neither the capital nor the material, nor, we might almost add, the skill, necessary to meet this increasing demand for books. Neither was the import trade in books sufficient for the purpose. In 1479-80, according to a Customs House return for the Port of London,<sup>1</sup> the chief importers of books at that time were Peter Actors, who was later on appointed the King's stationer, Henry Frankenberg, who with Bernard von Stondo carried on the trade of booksellers in St Clement's Lane, and Andrew Rue, a native of Frankfort, who had a bookseller's shop in St Paul's Churchyard. Between them these three men imported about fourteen hundred books during the year, while one or two other aliens imported smaller quantities. The return gives no clue as to the character of these books, they were simply described as "divers histories," which might mean anything. Nor are we told whether they were in print or in manuscript.

When it is recalled that the art of printing had only

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., E 122, 194/24.

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been discovered a little over twenty years, and further that there was more than one searcher for the Port of London whose returns are lost, an import trade of between fourteen and fifteen hundred volumes does not appear a poor one.

Yet there is no doubt that it was with a view to stimulating that trade that a proviso was added to the Act of 1484, to the effect that any foreign bookseller or printer might import books, bound or unbound, into this country, and that they or any foreigner scrivener, illuminator, or bookbinder might live here and carry on their business.

The Continental stationers lost no time in availing themselves of the privileges granted to them by this Act. During the next fifteen years large numbers of them settled in England and the importation of books greatly increased.

As there was already a Guild of Stationers and Text Writers in London and similar guilds in other cities, and the members of these trade guilds were very jealous of their privileges, the new-comers had to settle in the "liberties," and generally chose the proximity of some cathedral or monastic establishment, where they were exempt from the laws of the Stationers' Guild. In London they clustered round Old St Paul's. People were drawn to the Cathedral from all parts of the country, not only to hear the service and admire the building, but also too often as a promenade and convenient meeting-place. On the northern side,

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adjoining what was known as the Charnel House, and extending to the gateways east and west, there had been from very early times a number of wooden houses and sheds, and many of these were occupied by the new-comers. Amongst those who are found with shops in the Churchyard during the next few years were Richard Faques at the sign of the A B C; Joyce Pelgrim at the sign of St Anne; Nicholas Lecomte at the sign of St Nicholas; Henry Jacobi at the sign of the Trinity; while amongst those whose signs are unknown were Francis Birckman, Simon Vostre, Andrew and John Rue, and John Petit. These men were mostly booksellers, and the work of most of them is pretty well known. But John Petit is an exception. Very little is known about him, and it has been taken for granted that he was identical with the Paris bookseller of the same name who flourished between 1492 and 1530. But while no doubt the name of Petit was of French extraction, and there may have been kindred ties with the French family, John Petit who is found living in London between 1492 and 1558 was quite possibly an Englishman by birth. As early as the 22nd Edward the Third [1347-8], a John Petit and Joan his wife made over a messuage in St Clement Danes parish to William of Evesham [Feet of Fines, Middlesex, Vol. 1, No. 253]. In 1468 the name of John Petyt, "citizen and grocer of London," is found on the Patent Rolls, and again in 1484 there is a writ of aid for the King's servants

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John Petit of the City of London, "marchaunt" and John Bolle of the same, "wolman." [Calendar of Patent Rolls, 2 Ric. III., Part 1, No. 21.]

There was also an old-established Cornish family of the name of Le Petit or Petyt.

The earliest mention of John Petytt or Petit, the bookseller of London, is in the will of John Rew or Rue, of Frankfort, also a bookseller in St Paul's Churchyard, which was proved on the 15th January 1492-3.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the witnesses was Master John Petytt. His name next appears as defendant in a suit heard in the Court of Chancery, before Thomas Lord Legate, Cardinal and Archbishop of York, in other words, Cardinal Wolsey. The documents are undated; but as the plaintiff, Joyce Pelgrim or Pilgrim, "bookbinder," of London, who lived at the sign of the Trinity in St Paul's Churchyard, is not heard of after 1518, it was perhaps in that year that he brought the action. Pelgrim sought to recover from John Petit "of the same city, bookseller," a sum of six pounds which he had paid the defendant for certain "volumes, workes and printed bookes," on the understanding that if any were defective, they were to be returned to Petit, who was to make allowance for them. The plaintiff declared that several of the books were imperfect, and he returned them; but instead of getting his money back, he was sued by Petit in the Court of Hustings

<sup>1</sup> Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers*, 1903, p. 1.

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for debt, and arrested. [Early Chancery Proceedings. Bundle 556 (2).]

Another interesting reference to John Petit, of London, is found in Archdeacon Hales' *Precedents and Proceedings*, 1847. Quoting from the Act, Books of the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Diocese of London under the year 1549, he records that John Petit was cited to appear before the court for selling books during sermon time at Paul's Cross, on a Sunday, and duly appeared and submitted himself to the correction of the Lord Bishop.

Then in the will of Robert Toye, dated 5th February 1555-6, he mentions, "my shoppe with the sign of the Bell, next adioininge to Master Petitt's house."

Finally, on the 7th September 1558, the will of "John Petit draper" was proved in the Prerogative Court of London. [P.C.C. 42 Noodes.] It is just possible that this was John Petit the bookseller, as the two trades were closely associated. On the other hand he may have been a son of the bookseller, as he mentions his "brother" Thomas Petit, and if John Petit the bookseller had lived to the year 1558 he would have been about eighty-six years of age at the time of his death.

At any rate the above evidence goes to show that John Petit lived in London in St Paul's Churchyard from 1492 up till at least 1549, and was succeeded by Thomas Petit or Petytt.

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The earliest Customs Roll in existence after the passing of the Act of 1484 is only a small one for the year 1490-1, and its contents give no adequate idea of the effect of the Act on the book trade; but the few consignments of books met with are all described as "printed" books, in itself striking evidence that the new art was rapidly pushing the amanuensis out the market.<sup>1</sup>

Except in the case of "primmers," the entries on the roll do not tell us the nature of these printed books; but we can fill the gap for ourselves. By far the largest part of these importations consisted of service books for the English Church, of which the *Primer*, or *Book of Hours*, was one of the most important; and it was perhaps for that reason it was specially mentioned. Judging from the few entries met with, the number of *Primers* brought into the country annually was immense. One man sends twelve dozen "prynted prymer," another two hundred, a third five hundred, a fourth eight dozen, and so on.

These books came from various parts of the Continent, but the printers of Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp were the most favoured by buyers over here, on account of the neatness and beauty of their craftsmanship.

Many of them were printed on vellum and decorated with exquisite little cuts and borders illustrating pastoral

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of these Customs Rolls see *The Library*, New Series, Sept. 1923, pp. 146-50.

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scenes, incidents in Bible history, and pictures from the Dance of Death. Those for example that were printed by the Paris printer, Pigouchet, for his neighbour Simon Vostre, must have delighted the eyes and the hearts of all who could afford to buy them. They were in a handy form, and from the title-page to the last leaf each page of letter-press was surrounded with a border that was the perfection of wood-engraving. The typography was clear, and the free use of red ink brightened the pages, which were further adorned by the introduction of small cuts at the commencement of various sections, while here and there full-page illustrations appeared. Examples of these *Primers* or *Books of Hours* are plentiful in sale-rooms, and when in good condition are prizes worth having.

But there were other English service books printed abroad. In 1486 the first edition of the Sarum *Missal* is believed to have been printed at Basle by Wennsler.<sup>1</sup> In 1487 Caxton commissioned a printer in Paris, William Maynal, to print for him a Sarum *Missal*.

There is no reason to suppose that this was a speculation on Caxton's part. The cost was in all probability defrayed by one of his many customers. He knew very well that it was work which his press and workmen were quite unequal to, but rather than lose the order he sent the work abroad. At the same time he instructed the

<sup>1</sup> Duff, *The Printers, etc., of Westminster and London*, p. 78.

## *Introduction*

printer to say in the colophon that he was printing it for William Caxton, and in order that there might be no mistake on the point, when the sheets arrived at Westminster he added to them a device incorporating his merchant's mark and initials, with a wide border at the top and bottom, that gave it an almost Oriental appearance. Another service book believed to have been printed abroad for Caxton about the same time, though not by the same printer, was the *Sarum Legenda*, only known by fragments found in old bindings.<sup>1</sup>

About 1490 Gerard Leeu, the printer at Antwerp, issued an edition of the *Sarum Hours*, of which only a fragment has ever been found, and that has again disappeared.<sup>2</sup> A *Sarum Breviary* was printed at Louvain in 1499 by Thierry Martens. Again Martin Morin of Rouen did a very large business in service books for various countries and uses. During the fifteenth century he printed six for use in England, the first being a *Sarum Missal*, dated 1492, and altogether he printed before 1517 eighteen service books of different kinds. All these books were magnificent examples of the printer's skill and of book decoration.

Several other Rouen stationers visited England from time to time and imported service books. Next to Morin may be placed Jean Richard. In 1496 he commissioned

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Morin to print for him a magnificent Sarum *Breviary*, and in 1500 Petrus Olivier and Joannes Lorraine printed for him a Sarum *Missal* on the same lavish scale. Then in 1502 Pierre Olivier and Jean Mauditier printed for him a *Missal* after the use of Hereford. From a lawsuit heard at Oxford, there is evidence that he was in England, and he may have received a commission for the book.

Inglebert Haghe was another Rouen man who came over to England and settled at Hereford.

He was known to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII., who commissioned him to have printed at her expense an edition of the Hereford *Breviary*. M. E. Frere, in his bibliography of books printed in Rouen, was of opinion that this book was also printed by Jean Olivier and Jean Mauditier. Some years ago a lawsuit was found on the Plea Rolls at the Public Record Office, between Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Inglebert Haghe, for the recovery of a sum of one hundred shillings. There is nothing in the entry to indicate the cause of the action; but there is a strong probability that the *Breviary* had something to do with it.

Another noted foreign stationer who took advantage of the Act of 1484 to settle in England was Frederick Egmont. He is believed to have been a Frenchman. He also dealt almost entirely in service books for the uses of York and Salisbury, and he went to a Venetian printer, Johannes

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Hertzog of Landoia, to print them for him. The first book in which their names are found is a *Breviary* of York use, issued in May 1493. Several editions of the Sarum *Breviary* came from the same press about that time, and in the following year he printed to Egmont's order two editions of the Sarum *Missal*, one in folio and the other in octavo. Both these books are remarkable for the beauty of their woodcut initials.<sup>1</sup> From the colophon to the larger edition it appears that he was at that time in partnership with another man named Gerardus Barrevelt. They had a special device cut for them, which from its similarity to that of John Hertzog is believed to have been supplied by him.

The Act of 1484 was certainly helpful to the cause of education by supplying scholars with foreign printed textbooks at a much cheaper rate than any printer in England could produce them. Consequently throughout De Worde's life the market for these books was in the hands of foreigners.

In 1486 Gerard Leeu of Antwerp printed an edition of the *Vulgaria Terentis* which was a reprint of the earlier Oxford edition. Three editions of the *Carmen Juvenile*, otherwise known as *Stans puer ad Mensam*, were printed at Deventer for the English market between 1490 and 1500.

The *Liber Equivocorum* and the *Liber Synonymorum*,

<sup>1</sup> Duff, *The Printers, etc., of Westminster and London*, pp. 91 et seq.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

two school-books in great demand, were printed in 1493, the one at Deventer and the other at Antwerp, and were imported into England, we may be sure, in large numbers.

In the same year (1493) a handsome edition of *Terence* was printed by John Treschel at Lyons. Treschel's press corrector was Jodocus Badius Ascensius, who in 1503 started in business as a printer in Paris and produced editions of the classics, and amongst them another edition of *Terence* that quickly found favour. Then in 1495 Aldus Manutius printed at Venice the Greek Grammar of Lascaris in quarto, and went on to issue the classics in a form that would slip easily into the pocket, and which at the same time were a joy to the beholder from the beauty of their letterpress.

With the opening of the sixteenth century the foreign book trade continued to increase.

In the Customs Roll of 1502-3 Frederick Egmont, to whom reference has already been made, imported £20 (pounds) worth, by various ships, between the 7th January and the end of August. Francis Birckman, a member of a noted bookselling firm at Cologne, with branches at Antwerp and other towns, did a large trade with this country, and the earliest reference to him is on this roll, in which it is stated that on the 26th July 1503 he received two consignments of printed books, so that either he was over

## *Introduction*

here himself, or had a factor in London, and during the next few years his importations were large and frequent.

Another name met with on this roll is that of John Benase, "alien," in whom may be recognised the partner of John Gachet the stationer of York, Jean Bienayse. On the 25th September 1503 he imported one "pipe" of printed books.<sup>1</sup>

Although his name does not happen to appear on this particular roll, one of the largest importers was Francis Regnault. The son of a Paris bookseller, he came to England at the end of the fifteenth century and set up as a bookseller in London. Writing to Cromwell about 1534, he said that he had lived in London for forty years. That would make him established here in 1494, and would imply that his chief residence was in London; but there is evidence that he returned to Paris in 1516 on the death of his father and took over the business in that city. It is quite possible that father and son were both interested in the English market, for as early as 1511 one of them had printed for him a quarto edition of the Commentary, made by Robert Holcot the English divine, on the Proverbs of Solomon.

On the title-page of the work is the bookseller's device, which must have been quite familiar to the book lovers of that day. Probably no man knew it better than William Bretton, the grocer and merchant of the Staple, who was

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., E 122, 80/2.

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frequently in Paris and commissioned several of the printers there to print books for the English market at his expense. That such a man should have been omitted from the *Dicionary of National Biography* is to be regretted, as he ranks with such men as Caxton's friends Hugh Brice and William Pratt as the earliest promoters of English literature. He seems to have favoured the press of Wolfgang Hopyl, who printed at his expense in 1506 an edition of Lyndewood's *Constitutiones Provinciales*, one of the most beautifully printed books that the Paris press ever produced. In 1507 the same firm printed two service books, a *Sarum Horea* and a *Psalter*, while in 1510 he paid for three important works. One of these was a folio edition of the *Speculum Spiritualiu[m]*, compiled by Richard Rolle of Hampole. This is printed in a small, well-cast fount of Black Letter, in double columns, but beyond a few uninteresting woodcut initials had no other ornament than Bretton's coat-of-arms, which appears on the verso of the last page. The other books were the *Pupilla Oculi* of Joannes de Burgo and another *Book of Hours*, which, however, came from the press of Thielman Kerver and not Wolfgang Hopyl. All Bretton's books were sold in St Paul's Churchyard at the sign of the Trinity by Joyce Pelgrim.

Another firm of printers in Paris whose works, we may be sure, sold largely in this country, was that of Henry

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Stephens. For accuracy of text and beauty of typography his "classics" were the equal of those of Aldus of Venice.

The pages of the *Day Book*, kept by John Dorne or Thorne, the bookseller at Oxford in 1520, is further evidence of the large importation of books into this country. The *Day Book* has been printed by the Oxford Historical Society, with illuminating notes by the great Cambridge bibliographer, the late Henry Bradshaw. By far the greater part of Dorne's stock came from the presses of Basle, Lyons, Paris, and Rouen.

The activities of these foreign stationers were by no means confined to the importation of foreign books. They were quite ready to take the bread from the mouths of English printers if they could. Immediately after the death of William Caxton, for reasons that will be dealt with in another chapter, work at the Red Pale came almost to a standstill. Taking advantage of this, Gerard Leeu of Antwerp, whose agents had doubtless told him of that event, printed and sent over to London editions of *The History of Jason*, *The History of Paris and the Fair Vienne*, *The Chronicles of England*, all reprints of Caxton's editions, and in order to whet the appetite of English buyers, a popular story called *The Dialogue or Communying between the wise King Solomon and Marcolphus*. He would no doubt have produced more of these English books, but his

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sudden death brought the venture to a close. Antoine Verard, the bookseller of Paris, was another who early in the sixteenth century printed books in English, and he was followed a little later by Jan van Doesborgh, a printer of Antwerp who, during a number of years, printed books for the English market, amongst which were several romances, such as *A Gest of Robin Hode*, *Euryalus and Lucretia*, *Tyl Howleglas*, and the *Parson of Kalenborow*, which were likely to have a quick sale.

Then came the fierce religious controversies that preceded the Reformation. In 1520 Pope Leo the Tenth commanded the clergy to hunt out and burn Luther's books, and Cardinal Wolsey gave him active support. The centre of the trade in English books at that time was Antwerp, where English merchants supplied the money needed and sent the books when printed into England. Tyndale's New Testament, begun at Cologne and finished at Worms, was printed in 1526. The "Marburg" Press, from which came Tyndale's *Wicked Mammon*, the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, and a host of other works by the Reformers, is believed to have been at Antwerp, while another active press was that of Martin Schott of Strasburg.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the number of English printers and book-

<sup>1</sup> Bibliographical Society of London. Transactions, vol. xi. pp. 165-88. *The Schottes of Strassburg and their Press*, by S. H. Scott. *Idem*, pp. 189-236. *Note on English Books printed abroad, 1525-48*, by Robert Steele.

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sellers had largely increased, and they found themselves seriously handicapped by the large importation of foreign books and the privileges accorded to foreign workmen, of whom they were extremely jealous. In consequence of the continued protests of the English-born stationers an Act was passed in 1523 forbidding any alien, whether denizen or not, to take apprentices other than Englishmen, and limiting them to two foreign journeymen.

This was only the beginning. In 1529 another Act was passed forbidding any stranger not a denizen, which was not a householder on the 15th of February, from setting up or keeping any house, shop, or chamber within the realm for carrying trade.

Finally in 1534, by an Act which came into force on Christmas Day, it was made unlawful for any person or persons "resiant," *i.e.* resident, or inhabitant within the realm "to buy or sell again any printed books, brought from any parts out of the King's obeysaunce ready bound in boards, leather or parchment, upon pain of loss and forfeit for every book 6s. 8d." And it was further enacted that no person or persons should buy any kind of printed books from any stranger, not being a denizen, except by gross, upon pain of forfeiture of 6s. 8d. for every book so bought.

The reasons for these enactments were clearly stated as follows:—

"Whereas by the provision of a Statute made in the

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first yere of the reygne of Kynge Richard the Thirde, it was provided in the same acte that all strangers repayring into this realme might lawfully bring into the said realme printed and written bokes to sell at their libertie and pleasure. By force of which provision there hath comen into this realme sithen the makynge of the same, a marvellous number of printed bookes and dayly doth. And the cause of the making of the same provision seemeth to be, for that there were but fewe bookes and fewe printers within this realme at that time, whiche could well exercise and occupie the said science and crafte of pryntynge. Nevertheless, sithen the making of the saide provision, many of this realme beinge the Kinges naturall subjectes, have given them so diligently to lerne and exercise the saide craft of printing that at this day there be within this realme a great number of connyng and experte in the said science or craft of printing, as able to exercise the saide crafte in all pointes as any stranger in any other realme or country."

The last sentence was flattering to the English printers. They were not anything like as cunning or expert as many of their Continental brethren. And it is certainly a mistake to suppose, as some writers have, that the abrogation of the Act of 1484 put an end to all good printing in England. The very opposite was the case. With the printers before 1535 to "earn a penny" was their chief aim, whereas the Act of 1535 was followed by the work of such men as

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Thomas Berthelet, John Day, Thomas Vautrollier, Henry Bynneman, and Henry Denham.

Wynkyn de Worde and his contemporaries had to contend against the full weight of this foreign competition, and whatever their shortcomings they put up a good fight and eventually drove the foreign printer out of the country.



## CHAPTER II

### WYNKYN DE WORDE

*Wynkyn de Worde—Outline of his history and the most notable books printed by him down to 1500.*



## CHAPTER II

**T**HE earliest record of Wynkyn de Worde's presence in England is a deed among the muniments at Westminster Abbey, dated 1480. This proves that he was married, and that his wife, Elizabeth, had rented a house from the Prior, previous to that date.<sup>1</sup>

In all probability he came over to England with William Caxton, and at Caxton's solicitation, as his assistant in 1476, or, if he did not actually travel with him, he must have followed Caxton almost immediately.

Wynkyn de Worde was then quite a young man. Where he served his apprenticeship, or where Caxton found him, we do not know; but he may very possibly have been in the printing house of Caxton and Colard Mansion in Bruges, and may just have completed his indentures in 1476.

By birth he was a native of Wörth in Alsace, in the Duchy of Lorraine, and sometimes called himself Wynkyn de Worth instead of Worde. It is a mistake to suppose that he derived his name from the town of Woerden in Holland, and also that his Christian name was Jan or John.

Wynkyn is a Christian name, and he followed the

<sup>1</sup> *Athenæum*, 10th March 1899.

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custom in vogue at that time of using it coupled with the name of his birthplace. In none of his colophons or elsewhere did he ever use the prefix Jan or John. He was never known by any other name than Wynkyn de Worde.

That he was a sober, steady, and industrious workman is evident from the fact that he remained in Caxton's service until the death of the latter in 1491. At first, we may picture him as both compositor and pressman at the Red Pale, under the instructions and supervision of Caxton.

Then, as time went on and work increased, his responsibilities became greater, until at length we see him grown into the foreman of the printing house, consulted by his master on all the technical points in connection with the books—the type to be used in them, the format, whether or not the book was to be illustrated, and, if so, the number of illustrations to be used, and finally the number of copies that were to form the edition—taking over, in fact, the whole mechanical side of book production; while Caxton confined himself more and more to the choice of books, their translation and editing.

There is no reason to doubt that the two men stood on the best of terms with one another. Their interests never clashed. De Worde was content to remain the mechanic. He was in no sense a scholar, and knew little about the literary value of books. Caxton, on the other hand, loved the literary side of the printer's art better than the

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mechanical, and so long as his books were printed on good paper, with readable type, black ink, and were reasonably free from "errata," he troubled himself little about such things as title-pages, signatures, even spacing, or illustrations. None the less, there is little doubt that by degrees Wynkyn de Worde threw his weight into the scale, and that it is mainly to his influence that Caxton's later books were more profusely and better illustrated than his earlier ones, and became typographically more in line with Continental methods, though always lagging far behind them in some respects.

Such was the position at the Red Pale when, in 1491, Caxton's death threw everything into confusion. Only six books are known to have been printed down to the end of the year 1493. In other words, the business dropped to zero. Mr E. G. Duff, in his Sanders Lectures (1906), rather uncharitably assumed that the small output was due to lack of vigour and enterprise on the part of Wynkyn de Worde. It may have been due to quite other circumstances, to events which were none of his contriving. In order to make this understood it is necessary to repeat the little that is known of Caxton's family history. At the time of his death he had a daughter Elizabeth living. She was married to a tailor named Gerard Crop, who appears to have been a truculent and ill-tempered man, if not something worse. Immediately upon Caxton's death, this individual put

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forward a claim against the printer's estate, which his executors, one of whom was very probably De Worde, knowing Crop's character, would not entertain. Thereupon Crop started a series of actions against the executors in the Archdeacon's Court and the Court of Chancery, and it may very well be that this litigation delayed the proving of Caxton's will, and certain it is that it led to Crop's imprisonment,<sup>1</sup> and enabled his wife to obtain a separation from him. Most unfortunately the will has never been found, though diligent search has been made both at Westminster Abbey and in all the London registries. Neither has probate of the will ever been found; but that such a will existed there can be no doubt, not only from these various lawsuits, but from the fact that in the parish records of St Margaret's are found entries of books bequeathed to the church by Caxton. Nor can there be much doubt that the business at the Red Pale was left by Caxton to Wynkyn de Worde. Whether this were so or not, any delay in proving the will would be sufficient to account for the stagnation of the business. Certain formalities had to be complied with before any of the property could be dealt with, and we may well believe that Gerard Crop put every obstacle in the way of probate being granted. Meanwhile Wynkyn de Worde could do nothing without the consent of the Court and the executors. The few books that he printed were, in all likelihood,

<sup>1</sup> Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 128, 79.

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books that had been paid for before Caxton's death, or were on order at that time, and perhaps partly printed.

This seems to be the most natural explanation of the drop in the output of books from the Red Pale in the years immediately following Caxton's death. That it was not due to any want of energy on De Worde's part is shown from the fact that before the close of the fifteenth century he printed more than one hundred books, in other words, when Caxton's affairs were settled up and the business was legally handed over to him, De Worde more than made up for the lost time.

Two other circumstances support these conclusions. One is that De Worde did not put his name to any book before 1494, and the other that the *Vitas Patrum*, the book which Caxton finished translating on the day of his death, was not issued until 1495. The manuscript of that book was Caxton's own property, and nothing could be done with it until his affairs were settled. Allowing this to have taken place in 1494, and allowing a year for the preparation of the numerous woodcuts with which the work is illustrated, and the printing, it will be seen that it was published at the earliest possible moment after Caxton's death.

The six books known to have been printed at the Red Pale before 1494 were *The Book of Courtesy*, a reprint of Caxton's edition; *The Treatise of Love*, *The Chastising of God's Children*, *The Life of St Katherine*, a third edition

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of the *Golden Legend*, and the *Liber Festivalis* of John Mirk. Only a fragment of *The Book of Courtesy* now exists, two leaves, on one of which appears De Worde's first device, printed upside down. This no doubt led to the rejection of the sheet, which was found in a binding, and is now in the Douce collection at the Bodleian Library.

*The Chastising of God's Children*, a folio printed in double columns, is interesting as being the first book printed at Westminster having a title-page, Wynkyn de Worde, so soon as he was his own master, thus showing that he was prepared to follow the custom that had been in use by other printers in England for some years, but which his predecessor never would adopt. But in other respects he clung to the old methods, the book having neither headlines nor catchwords. The types used in printing this book were both Caxton's, No. 6 for the text and No. 8 for the two opening lines. This type 8 was not recognised by William Blades, although it was used during Caxton's lifetime, both in the *Ars Moriendi* and *The Fifteen Oes*. It was a handsome letter, variously described as Lettre de Forme, Gothic, Black Letter or English, and was used again by De Worde in *The Life of St Katherine* and *The Golden Legend*.

The *Liber Festivalis* was a quarto, and is also a notable book, being printed with De Worde's first fount of type. This again is a Black Letter fairly well and evenly cast, and differs from Caxton's, having very few joined letters.

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At the same time it has some of Caxton's letters mixed with it, and while its general character resembles the French, it might have been modelled on Caxton's No. 5. With this type was used a set of small Lombardic capitals.

The colophon runs, "Finitum et completum in Westmonasterio Anno domini Mcccclxxxiiij," and below this is the device previously used in *The Book of Courtesy* [M'Kerrow 2]. This is a small oblong metal cut, showing Caxton's cipher surrounded by a neat and artistic border of flowers.

Before passing away from these early books of De Worde's, something further may be said about the types with which they were printed. Very little is known about the arts of type-cutting and type-founding in this country in the fifteenth century. The early printers were undoubtedly their own typefounders; but it does not necessarily follow that Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde either designed or cut their own type. There is no reason to believe that Caxton learned type-cutting in the Cologne office where he learned to print, and so jealously were all the processes guarded that a stranger would have stood little chance of being initiated into them. Colard Mansion was on a somewhat different footing. He was a skilled calligrapher, and would have found no difficulty in designing the alphabets of Caxton's types 1 and 2, but whether he cut the punches or made the matrices and the moulds is doubtful. It has

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been suggested that type No. 2, at any rate, was cut and cast by John Veldener, and this is probably right. On the other hand, Wynkyn de Worde, during his apprenticeship, would certainly have learned the rudiments of type-casting, possibly in the office at Bruges, and all we have to determine is whether he was artist enough to have designed and cut such founts as types 3, 5, 7, and 8, which were used by Caxton, or the type which was used in the *Liber Festivalis*. Referring to these and later types which come under the general terms of English or Black Letter, the late T. B. Reed, in his work on the *Old English Letter Foundries*, says that De Worde was in all probability "the first to cut punches of it in this country." That he was the first to make general use of this type is certain, but there is very little inducement to believe that he had the skill necessary to cut it. He was in his way a good printer, careless at times, but with a knowledge of the technical part of the work that fulfilled Caxton's requirements. He was also, we may believe, a good business man; but neither of these would make him a good type-cutter. On the whole it seems more likely that these founts were obtained from abroad, or were cut and cast in Caxton's office by a specially trained type-founder. With regard to type 8, Mr E. G. Duff, in his *Early Printed Books*, pointed out its close resemblance to that used by the Paris printers, P. Levet and Jean Higman, in 1490, and argues that it was either ob-

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tained from them or from the type-cutter who cut their founts.<sup>1</sup>

To return now to De Worde's work. During the year 1494 he printed an edition of Bonaventura's *Speculum Vitæ Christi*, Walter Hylton's *Scala perfectionis*, both in Caxton's later types. In the *Speculum* the sidenotes are in his type 7. This was another of the founts of that printer which William Blades refused to recognise. It had been previously used to print an *Indulgence* in 1489, and its discovery in this book confirmed the belief that the type of the *Indulgence* was one of Caxton's.

The *Scala Perfectionis* was a new book and is notable for several reasons. The author was a Carthusian monk, of exemplary life, whose writings were widely read. It was written and printed for Margaret Beaufort, the mother of the king, a talented woman of singular piety, whose charitable works had endeared her to the people. It was she who had commissioned Caxton to print *The Fifteen Oes* at her expense. She was only a patron in the sense of being a customer. The *Scala Perfectionis* is also the first book to which Wynkyn de Worde put his name.

All this information is given in a short poem of two stanzas, at the end of the book, which are worth reprinting:—

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<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *Early Printed Books*, pp. 84 and 139.

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“Infynyte laud, with thankynges many folde,  
I yielde to God, me socourynge with his grace  
This boke to fynyshe, which that ye beholde.  
Scale of perfection calde in every place;  
Whereof thauctor Walter Hylton was,  
And Wynkyn de Worde, this hath sette in printe  
In William Caxton’s hows so fyll the case,  
God rest his soul, in joy ther mot is stynt.

This heauenly boke, more precyous than golde  
Was late dyrect, with great humylyte,  
For godly plesur, theron to beholde  
Unto the right noble Margaret, as ye see,  
The Kynges moder, of excellent bounte,  
Herry the seventh, that Jhu him preserve,  
This myghte princesse hath commanded me  
Temprynt this boke, her grace for to deserue.”

It is rather remarkable that no bibliographer has ever asked himself who wrote these lines. From all we know of Wynkyn de Worde, however excellent a printer he may have been, there is no reason to believe that he had any literary talents, and he certainly was not the author of those verses. But he had in his employ at a later time, and evidently much earlier than anyone has hitherto supposed, as literary helper, one Robert Copland, who was not only trained in the craftsmanship of a printer, but was a man of good education and wide reading, who on more than one occasion supplied metrical prologues and epilogues to books printed

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by Wynkyn de Worde, and we may safely attribute the above stanzas to his pen. He always spoke of Caxton as his "master," and allowing him to have been seventy-eight years of age at his death in 1548, when he was known as the oldest printer in England, he might easily have been one of Caxton's apprentices, and would have been between twenty and thirty years of age when he began to work for Wynkyn de Worde.

To the year 1494 may also be ascribed three undated editions of the *Horæ ad usum Sarum*, which are only known to us by a few fragments of each edition. In two of these the pages were surrounded by borders previously used by Caxton when he printed *The Fifteen Oes*. The third issue also had borders, but they were a different set, not found elsewhere.

The printing of these *Horæ* must have been a difficult task and a long one, when we remember the primitive character of the early printing presses, as red ink was very lavishly used, not only for printing the calendar which invariably preceded them, but in many other pages throughout the work. The modern expression "a red-letter day" is a survival of the custom of printing the saints' days in red ink.

In one of these fragments there is a very spirited and well-executed illustration, showing three horsemen meeting with three figures of Death on the highway. Referring to

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this cut Mr A. W. Pollard, in a paper contributed to the Bibliographical Society, says: "We have not the slightest encouragement to believe that any Englishman of the time could have drawn such horses. The cut belongs to a set of *Horæ* cuts which Caxton must have commissioned in the Low Countries, though he himself, so far as we know, only used one design (that of the Crucifixion in the *Fifteen Oes*)."

By 1495 Caxton's testamentary affairs had evidently been satisfactorily settled, and Wynkyn de Worde began to get into his stride. His output was still small, seven books and a Bull; but not only were some of these large and important works, but what is more interesting, he begins to strike out in various new directions.

As was only fitting, one of the issues of that year was the *Vitas Patrum*, the last book translated by Caxton, and which he finished on the day of his death. It was a folio, printed in double columns with Caxton's type 8, and profusely illustrated with woodcuts. These were native work, and serve to show the utter want of skill manifested by English woodcutters at that period. They are badly drawn and coarsely cut, while the title-pages consisted of a hideous block, having the words *Vitas Patrum* in white on a black ground.

Another large book of this year was a reprint of Higden's *Polycronycon*, which De Worde printed at the request of Roger Thorne, mercer, a friend of Caxton's.

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William Blades records that his autograph appeared in a copy of the *History of Godfrey of Bolyne*, printed by Caxton in 1481.

At the back of the title-page of Wynkyn de Worde's edition is a poem of five stanzas in praise of the work. In all probability these were also written by Robert Copland.

The undated edition of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomæus Anglicus is also believed to have been printed in 1495. In this book is found the oft-quoted "Epilogue" in which Caxton is said to have first learned the art of printing in Cologne, a statement that Blades always disputed, but which has quite recently received strong confirmation. In 1923 Lieut.-Col. J. G. Birch discovered, in the Register of Aliens at Cologne, evidence that Caxton lived there from July 1471 until some time after Michaelmas 1472, these dates coinciding with the printing of the Latin edition of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, which the late E. G. Duff identified as having been printed in that city by the printer of the *Flores Augustini*.<sup>1</sup>

The "Epilogue" also stated that the paper used in the book was manufactured by John Tate, the younger, at his paper-mill in Hertfordshire, a valuable record for which we cannot be too thankful, seeing how scanty is our knowledge of the art of paper-making in England in the fifteenth century. The wire-mark of this particular paper was an eight-

<sup>1</sup> Library, New Series, vol. iv., June 1923.

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pointed star, but it does not follow that this was the only mark used by Tate. He probably made paper of various qualities and used a different mark for each. We do not believe that he was the only paper-maker in this country at that time. But we should not even have known of his existence except for Wynkyn de Worde's notes in this book. Amongst the quartos of that year were two works on Latin grammar, the *Introductorium Linguae Latinæ* and the *Accidence* of Ælius Donatus. The first is only known from a copy in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, and of the *Accidence* the only known copy is in the Bodleian Library.

From this time till the end of the century De Worde steadily increased his output. In 1496 he printed fourteen separate books and five issues of the Statutes. In 1499 he printed nineteen works, eight of which were dated. The most interesting work of the year 1496 was his reprint of the *Boke of St Albans*, better known as the *Book of Hawking*. In addition to all kinds of information about hawks and hawking, it dealt with hunting, and also contained a treatise of fishing with an angle, the first of its kind ever printed in this country. Not content with this, the compiler added a section on the blazoning of arms and a chapter on coat-armour, while sprinkled freely throughout the work are scraps of mediæval folk-lore.

The *Boke of Hawking* was printed with a fount of

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type obtained, probably by Caxton, from Godfried van Os, a printer of Gouda, who parted with it about 1490, when he removed to Copenhagen. It is a broad, square letter, and apparently De Worde did not think it suitable for English books, as he never used it again. The *Book of Hawking* was one of the few folios printed in single lines, and was illustrated with a few woodcuts, the large one seen on the recto of the first leaf being evidently the work of the same hand that cut those seen in the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.

Another folio of that year was *Dives and Pauper*, a work which had been printed three years earlier by Richard Pynson. De Worde's edition was not so well printed, but it was illustrated. On the 9th March 1496, Wynkyn de Worde finished printing a small quarto of 32 leaves, the *Meditation of St Bernard*. Only one copy of this is known, now in the Bodleian. It contains the cut of the Crucifixion referred to, and this cut is an important factor in determining the date of printing of any undated book in which it is found. The block began to show signs of wear in 1497, when part of the cap of one of the soldiers standing on the right of the Cross was broken away, so that books showing the block intact must have been printed before that date. The cut began to split in 1499, and in 1500 it split right through, and towards the end of 1500 one of the two border lines was cut away.

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Very little of interest came from the Red Pale in 1497 except reprints of the *Chronicles of England* and of Caxton's French and English word-book, which from its references to the various trades carried on in the city of Bruges is a very interesting book.

Further reprints of Caxton's publications, notably the *Morte d'Arthur*, the *Golden Legend*, and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, all in folio and profusely illustrated, are the outstanding features of De Worde's press in 1498, while the two closing years of the century saw the high-water mark of his endeavour, before he quitted Westminster.

From the point of view of literature the books then printed are far and away the most interesting of any that preceded them. Liturgical and devotional works were still in the majority, but alongside these we have one or two valuable educational works, and a greater number of romances and poetical works than ever before.

The most important of the scholastic works was the *Liber Equivocorum* of John Garland, printed in 1499. This little quarto was very clearly and well printed in two entirely new founts of type (Nos. 8 and 9 in Mr Duff's list). Both of these were Black Letter, the larger being used for the text and the smaller, a well-cut fount measuring 53 mm. to 20 lines, for the gloss. The work was a century old, but it held its place in the curriculum

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of the universities. The first leaf was probably occupied by a woodcut and some sort of title; but this is wanting in the British Museum copy. These types were used again to print the *Opus Grammaticum*, another work of the same class which bears the date 4th December 1499.

Another of the issues of that year was an edition of *Sir John Mandeville's Travels*, being the supposed history of a journey to Jerusalem, full of all sorts of wonders, written more than a century before. In this edition the story was heightened by a set of illustrations that were not less wonderful than the adventures they portray. So popular was this book that only two imperfect copies have survived, one being in the University Library at Cambridge and one at Stonyhurst.

A striking instance of the varied uses to which woodcuts were put by the early printers is met with in *The Assembly of the Gods*, a series of reprints of Lydgate's smaller poems, one of a block intended to represent the gods assembled having previously done duty to illustrate the pilgrims in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

Another shows the carelessness that was characteristic of De Worde's work as a printer. When reprinting *The Horse, the Sheep, and the Ghoos*, he got hold of a copy that wanted one leaf. He evidently did not know this and never discovered its loss, but printed the book exactly as he found it!

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Finally come the remains of four notable romances, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Sir Eglamour*, *Guy of Warwick*, and *Robin Hood*. Unfortunately only a few fragments rescued from the bindings of other books have survived of these, a leaf of *Sir Eglamour* in the University of Cambridge and the other three in the Bodleian. But such as they are, they show us how Wynkyn de Worde earned his title of "the popular printer," although behind him we can see the shadow of Robert Copland as the directing spirit and the master mind.

Many of these "popular" quartos have been thumbed out of existence, and we can only guess at some of their titles from the occurrence of a woodcut or woodcuts that evidently illustrated them in the pages of existing books or fragments. Again we must quote the late E. G. Duff.<sup>1</sup>

"Before the end of the fifteenth century," he says, "De Worde had a series of woodcuts to illustrate *Reynard the Fox*. One cut is found on the first leaf of Lydgate's *The horse, the sheep and the goose* . . . another on the title-page of Skelton's *Bowge of Court*. . . . In the collection of the University Librarian is a fragment of an edition of *Reynard*, evidently printed by W. de Worde about 1515, and this contains a third cut agreeing absolutely in size, in workmanship, and in style with the other two. . . . It seems

<sup>1</sup> *Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Sanders Lectures), Cambridge, 1906, p. 37.

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probable that an edition illustrated with these cuts appeared before 1500."

The outstanding feature of De Worde's work was his love of pictures. He seldom, if ever, let a book go out without one, even his scholastic works having on their title-pages a cut of a master instructing his pupil with the end of a birch. But he had no artistic taste. No true artist would have tolerated for a moment the crudely cut and sombre blocks that did duty for a title to the *Vitas Patrum* and the *Bartholomæus*. Nor did he trouble himself as to whether the blocks or ornaments he used were suitable to the text or type of the book he was printing. Anything that happened to be on the shelves at the time was inserted. So far as we know, he did nothing to improve the art of wood-cutting.

Reviewing the work which he did down to the end of 1500, he printed some fine books and printed them well, but too often marred them with bad woodcuts. He had no high ideals, and his printing was solely a commercial undertaking for profit.

It was his business instincts which led him towards the end of 1500 to leave Westminster and carry his printing-office to Fleet Street.



## CHAPTER III

WYNKYN DE WORDE—*continued*

*De Worde's new premises—Foreign competition and popular taste—His dealings with Robert Copland—His business relations with Pynson—Some notable books to 1520.*



### CHAPTER III

**D**E WORDE'S new premises were on the south side of Fleet Street, near the Conduit and opposite Shoe Lane. They consisted of a shop and printing-house and a dwelling-house, and were known by the sign of the Sun. He appears to have left Westminster about the end of the year 1500. Pynson had already moved eastwards, and Julyan Notary, the only printer left in Westminster, very soon followed them. The object was probably the same in each case, namely, to be in closer touch with the book trade, most of the leading men having their shops in the neighbourhood of St Paul's Cathedral.

The greater part of the year 1501 was in all probability occupied in getting his printing-house into order, as only one book bearing that date is known, an edition of the Bishop of Ely's *Mons Perfectionis*. This was the third time De Worde had printed the book within five years, and the work had also been printed by Pynson in 1497.

That some books were printed without date in that year is almost certain, but the only one that has been ascribed to it is a little quarto tract, the only copy of which is in the University Library at Cambridge, entitled *Margerie Kempe of Lynn*, which we may suppose was in the nature of a chap-book.

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De Worde cleared out a good deal of his old printing material before he left Westminster, and some of it is found in the hands of Hugh Goes, a printer in York, and some in the possession of Julyan Notary. He took with him to his new office the types distinguished in the late Mr E. G. Duff's *Fifteenth Century Books* as types 4, 8, 9. No. 4 he continued to use until 1508-9, when he sold it. Of the remaining two, No. 8 was the most important. This was a handsome and well-cut Gothic or Black Letter, with which he frequently used the small scholastic founts seen in the *Aesop* of 1503. With these the bulk of his books were printed up to the day of his death, and long before that event they were in a very bad state. It was not until about 1520 that he began to use Roman type, but he never did much with it.

Wynkyn de Worde's output during the next thirty-five years was to a great extent moulded by the foreign competition he had to meet. Popular taste also had a great deal to do with it. The man in the street preferred to buy trifles, such as ballads or jest books, and those of the cheapest kind, to more solid literature.<sup>1</sup> Many of the poetical satires, romances, and chap-books that came from his press are only known from fragments rescued from old bindings, and we cannot even guess at the number that have perished.

<sup>1</sup> R. Copland, *Seven Sorrowes that Women have when theyr Husbandes be dead*, first printed in 1550.

# Nichodemus gofpell



NICODEMUS GOSPELL. W. DE WORDE. N.D. (c. 1515)



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Those that have survived form the most interesting if not the largest section of his work. They were invariably printed in quarto form, and illustrated more or less badly.

Devotional works and sermons, *Books of Hours*, *Missals*, and the smaller service-books rank next in point of numbers, and show him at his best as a printer. Next in order come his reprints of Caxton's works, which he issued periodically, and following these may be placed the educational books, of which he printed large numbers, with a sprinkling of miscellaneous literature, such as the *Boke of Kervynge*, *The properties of a Horse*, *Information for pilgrims*, *The Boke of Songs*, and the *Treatise of the Pestilence*.

Altogether some eight hundred books, the bulk of them undated, have been traced to his press. Manifestly we can do little more than sample his work, more especially as examples of the rarer books are not easily accessible.

Some nine books are known dated 1502. These include reprints of Caxton's *Chronicles of England* and the *Description of Britain*, both printed in type 4, with headlines in type 8. Nor were these the only folios, there being also a folio edition of the Statutes, and a reprint of *The Recuyles of the Histories of Troye*. Of this last the only known copy is in the Pepys Library at Cambridge. One of the quartos of that year, *The Ordynayre of Christian Men*, was also printed with type 4, but the sidenotes appear

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to be in a smaller fount of Gothic, which is neither that of the *Indulgence* of 1498 nor the *Grammar* of 1500, and may have been a new fount.

Amongst other books of that year was a *Horea ad Usum Sarum*, the only known copy of which is in the Bodleian, where also is an edition of the *Manipulus Curatorum*, dated 22nd April, and remarkable as having a device unlike any other used by De Worde, the engraver having cut the initial "C" so that the back of the letter faces outwards instead of inwards. [M'Kerrow, 12.]

The *Aesop* of 1503 was printed with types 8 and 9, and has on the title-page a woodcut of a master with a birch-rod and three scholars. On the verso of the last leaf is one of those carelessly arranged jumbles of woodcuts and border pieces, which so thoroughly illustrate De Worde's lack of artistic feeling. At the top is a cut of the Virgin and Child, evidently one of a set used in some *Book of Hours* printed abroad, as both perspective and drawing have a foreign look. Below this is seen De Worde's small oblong device [M'Kerrow, 11], generally referred to by Ames as the black grounded device. A border of leaves and flowers in two parts badly joined surrounds these, while the spaces between the sides of the upper woodcut and the border are filled with two narrow blocks of a different character. The result is both untidy and ugly.

Another edition of Caxton's *Recuyles of the Hystories*

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*of Troye* in folio was also amongst the books printed in 1503, and one can only suppose that it was the remainder of the 1502 edition issued with a new title-page, as it seems impossible that there could have been such a sale for a book of that kind as to call for two editions within a twelve-month of one another. There is a copy of this edition in the British Museum. It is printed in double columns in type 4, without pagination, headlines, or catchwords. It contains the woodcut capitals with grotesque faces, believed to have been part of the material obtained from Gosaert van Os. They are not pretty, although some of the larger ones are striking.

This book has many illustrations, most of them bad, and made worse by the unnecessary insertion of border pieces without the least connection with the text, and often extending beyond it. Many of these were portions of the borders used by Caxton in *The Fifteen Oes*.

In 1504 De Worde began to use another form of the device which had first appeared in the *Manipulus Curatorum*. Like that, it was divided into three sections, the top one having a representation of the sun, two planets, and twenty stars, eleven to the left of the sun and nine to the right. The centre panel contained Caxton's initials and mark, while the bottom one contained a dog and a centaur shooting an arrow from a bow above a ribbon with the printer's name. This device was replaced twice by an almost exact copy, and

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by carefully noting the various stages of deterioration in these blocks, many of his undated books can be assigned to certain years. These devices are Nos. 19, 20, and 21 in Mr M'Kerrow's facsimiles. In its earlier form it is distinguishable from the others by the fact that the bottom star to the left of the sun has only six points; but it was one of the stars on the right of the sun that began to show signs of wear first, then another went. Next cracks appeared in various places, and finally by 1518 it had to be replaced.

The issues of 1504 included an edition of the famous romance, *The Four Sons of Aymon*, a reprint of Caxton's edition, of which only a fragment now remains in the University Library at Cambridge.

For some unknown reason his press was idle during the year 1505, only three books with that date having been found, as against seven in the preceding year and nine in 1506. Two of the three were school-books, the *Liber Synonymorum* and *Equivoca* of Garland. The third was a folio edition of the *Ars Moriendi* or *Crafte to lyue and dye well*, a devotional work that found many readers. Caxton printed it about 1490, and Wynkyn de Worde had reprinted it before 1500. The only known copy of this 1505 edition is in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.

In 1506 he reprinted the *Ordinary of Christian Men*, this time with types 8 and 9. Another book of that year

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was the *Contemplacions* of Richard Rolle the hermit. In this type 8 is used again, and the title-page has a woodcut of a figure with a nimbus, intended perhaps as a portrait of the author, but in reality an odd block that did duty in many books. On the verso is a barbarous cut showing the hermit asleep and the dream that he has. As a set-off for this, on the recto of the last leaf is the woodcut of the three horsemen meeting the three figures of Death.

Another interesting book of that year was an edition of Alexander Barclay's translation of Pierre Gringore's *Chasteau de Labour*, under the title of the *Castell of Labour*. Amongst the foreign printers and publishers who were trying to capture the English market at the beginning of the sixteenth century was Antoine Verard of Paris. In order to do this he employed a Scotchman to translate two books then popular in Paris, *Le art de bien vivre et de bien mourir* and *Le Calendrier du Bergers*. The Scotchman did his best, no doubt, but the result was not a success, and the venture, so far as Verard was concerned, was a failure.

About the same time he also published Barclay's translation of P. Gringore's poem. Barclay curiously enough was also a Scotchman, but his knowledge of the English language was much superior to that of his countryman who had translated the other two books.

Mr A. W. Pollard, in his valuable introduction to the

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facsimile of Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1506, made for the Roxburghe Club in 1905,<sup>1</sup> expresses the opinion that it was the first of the three to make its appearance in this country; but if that had been so, it is difficult to imagine that Verard would have entrusted the translation of the other two books to a far inferior man. It looks rather as though, finding that, owing to their corrupt English, *The Art of Good Living and Good Dying* and the *Kalendar of Shepherds* had fallen dead, he employed a more skilled man to translate Gringore's work, with a view to whipping-up interest amongst English readers. But whether it was first or last matters little. The publication of these three books induced the two foremost printers in England, Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, to put out editions. Some time in 1505, or early in 1506, Pynson printed a new edition of the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, stating in his Prologue "that before tyme thys boke was prynted in parys into corrupte englysshe and nat by no Englysse man, wherfore these bokes that were broughte into Inghlonde no man coude understand them perfetly."

He followed this up almost immediately with an undated edition of Barclay's *Castell of Labour*, of which only a single copy remains, once amongst the Huth treasures, and

<sup>1</sup> *The Castell of Labour*. Translated from the French of Pierre Gringore by Alexander Barclay, . . . with . . . an Introduction by A. W. Pollard, 1905, 4, p. xlix.

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now in the British Museum. This edition of Pynson's is not only well printed, but contains some well-executed copies of the wood and metal cuts seen in Pigouchet's editions of the French original.

Wynkyn de Worde at once put in hand his edition of the work, and had the audacity to copy the cuts in Pynson's edition, and in most instances made a terrible hash of them.

Only three books with the date 1507 have been found. Two of these were reprints of Caxton's works, *The Book of Good Manners* and *The Boke named the Royal*, the third being a devotional work called the *Dyenge Creature*, the only known copy of which is in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.

Some copies of the *Boke named the Royal* have Richard Pynson's name in the colophon, and his device on the last page. With this exception, all the copies are alike, and the type and capitals used in printing it point to De Worde rather than Pynson as the printer. Pynson may have agreed to take part of the impression, but the sharp rivalry between the two men does not lend support to this suggestion, yet no other explanation seems feasible.

To this time also belongs the metrical satire on marriage entitled *The Complaint of them that be too soon married*. The fragment in the British Museum has on the verso of the last leaf the printer's device, and from its condition there is no doubt that its publication took place soon after Rolle's

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*Contemplacions*, and before Hawes' *Conversion of Swerers*, which is dated 1509. This was another translation from the writings of Pierre Gringore, and was made by Robert Copland, who placed his name in it in the form of a cryptogram. The type in which this fragment is printed was that in use by De Worde at that time. J. P. Collier, in his *Bibliographical Account*, referring to this poem, states that Copland mentions the *Complaynt* as his "first werke." What may have been the exact meaning of that phrase is not clear. We have already pointed to the probability that Copland was the writer of the metrical prologues and epilogues found in the *Scala Perfectionis* of 1494 and the *Polychronicon* of 1495. But Collier may have meant that the *Complaynt* was Copland's first attempt at translation, and it may have been finished a year or two before it was printed. The statement at least seems to confirm the evidence of the device that it was printed before 1509.

The death of King Henry the Seventh on 21st April 1509 was followed soon afterwards by that of his mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and both events robbed De Worde of two of his best customers. For some time past he had assumed the title of printer to the King's mother, and this seems to have been a set-off to Pynson's appointment as printer to the King. These two royal funerals, followed by the coronation of Henry VIII.,

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made the year 1509 a memorable one, and it is not surprising that De Worde's output of that year exceeded anything he had previously done. Twenty-one books bearing this date are recorded in the *Hand Lists of English Printers* published by the Bibliographical Society of London. They include a funeral sermon by Bishop Fisher on King Henry VII., a manual for the use of York, various devotional works, such as Hawes' *Conversion of Swerers*, *Nicodemus Gospel*, the *Rote or Mirror of Consolation*, *Ars Moriendi* and *The seven shedynges of the blode of Ihesu Christe*, a few school-books for the instruction of Latin, and a number of miscellaneous works of considerable interest. First of these was a translation of the German writer Sebastian Brandt's famous satire, *The Shippe of Fooles*. This was the second edition, the first having been printed in folio by Richard Pynson eight years before. The fools whipped by Brandt were many, and the ship was scarcely big enough to hold them, and the work was profusely if very crudely illustrated. Next in popularity may be taken Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, a moral allegory in verse, dealing with love and adventure. Copies of this first edition are rare.

Only one folio is recorded, another devotional work entitled *The Floure of the Commandements of God*, of which the only known copy is in the University Library at Cambridge.

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Stephen Hawes' *Conversion of Swerers* is a well printed quarto with a curious block on the title-page surrounded by a light border of flowers and foliage, and on three sides another border of printers' ornaments.

To this year perhaps also belongs another metrical satire on the times called *The treatyse of a galaunt*, an extract from which is worth reprinting:—

“Behold the rolled hodes stuffed with flockes,  
The new broched doublettes open at the brestes,  
Stuffed with pectoll of theyr loues smockes.  
Theyr gownes and theyr cotes shredde all in lystes  
So many capes as now be, and so fewe good prestes.  
I cannot reken halfe the route of theyr marred gere,  
Englonde may wayle that euer it came here.”

The type used to print this *Treatise* is identical with that seen in Hawes' *Conversion of Swerers*, dated 1509. De Worde at a later date twice reprinted this satire. This was a favourite practice with him. For example, the *Kalendar of Shepherds* appeared in 1508, 1511, and 1528, while editions of *Nicodemus Gospel* were issued in 1509, 1511, 1512, and 1518. The reason was that no printer had enough type to enable him to keep it locked up for any length of time, consequently small editions were the rule, and in the case of popular books, like the above-mentioned satire, were very soon sold out, and new editions called for.

The cōuercyon of Swerers.



CONVERSION OF SWERERS W. DE WORDE. 1509.



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The year 1512 is noticeable for the number of educational books that came from De Worde's press. Out of thirteen dated books, more than half were of this character, the most important being the *Bucolica* of Virgil; *Liber Cathonis cum commento*; a reprint of the *Quinta Recognitio* of Sulpitius; the *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensis*, only known from a copy in the Bodleian Library, and lastly Robert Whittington's *Syntax*.

Copland's contribution to that year's work was a translation of a prose romance called *The Knyght of the Swanne*. The printer's notice was drawn to this by one of his customers, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, who claimed to be descended from the hero, and who desired to see it in an English dress. De Worde obtained a copy of the French edition, which he gave to Copland to translate. The book contains many illustrations, poor copies of the French originals. The only known copy of *The Knyght of the Swanne* is printed on vellum. It was possibly one of a few specially printed in this way for presentation, the remainder of the issue being printed on paper. This was done in the case of the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, printed in 1516, of which there is a copy on vellum in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, while that in the British Museum, of the same date, is on paper.

Some of the undated books of this time are very interesting. Alexander Barclay's *Fifth Eclog*, *The Citizen and*

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*Uplondishman*, is an amusing dialogue in rhyme between two shepherds sitting in a barn on a wintry day. One of them had visited some neighbouring city, or perhaps London, and he recounts to his companion the sights he had seen and the rogueries of which he had been a victim.

The history of *Robert the Devil* has on the title-page a woodcut of a knight in armour on horseback attended by his squire which is not without merit. The book is further illustrated with a miscellaneous collection of cuts, while the condition of the device at the end shows that it was printed almost at the same time as Barclay's poem.

Another quarto to which the same date may be assigned, is *Cocke Laurelles Bote*, a character sketch in verse illustrated with at least one cut from some editions of the *Ship of Fools*.

Returning now for a moment to the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, one of the few folios of this time. It was printed without a title-page, the leaf preceding the text having on the recto a full-page woodcut of a group of uninteresting looking people, no doubt meant to represent some of the saints whose miracles are recorded in the book. This woodcut is repeated on the verso of the leaf, and again on the recto of the last leaf. The text is printed in a clear fount of Black Letter (95 mm.), with headlines but no catchwords, and there are some quite good capitals to be found in it. The colophon states that it was printed on the 27th

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February 1516. As the legal year did not begin until the 25th March, the 27th of February might mean 15<sup>16</sup>/<sub>17</sub>, but as Wynkyn de Worde began his year on 1st January,<sup>1</sup> the printed date may be taken as correct.

The dated books of the year 1519 are of importance. In the forefront stands a handsome folio, *The Orcharde of Syon*, written by Richard Sutton, steward of the monastery. It was printed with two founts of Black Letter, one being a great primer (117 mm.) of great beauty, in double columns of 41 lines with headlines, while on the verso of the title-page is a large woodcut with a very handsome vine border. This was succeeded by Richard Rolle's devotional work, *The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons*, a quarto, and there were three scholastic works, *Alanus de Parabolis*, printed in March and having the printer's device (M'Kerrow, 23) on the title-page; Robert Whittington, *De octo partibus*, printed in April; and the same author's *De concinitate gramatices*, in which Greek words cut in wood were used for the first time in this country (Reed, *Old English Letter Foundries*, 1887, p. 91).

Amongst the undated books which seem to belong to this year is an edition of the *Imitation of Christ*. At the end of the first three books is De Worde's device (M'Kerrow, 19) showing the star with six points to the left of

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*. 1906, pp. 31, 135, 141.

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the sun, and from its condition assignable to about 1516; but at the end of the fourth book is the device showing the star with seven points. As all four parts are printed with the same type, the date of printing was probably somewhere about 1519.

This type is very noticeable from the use of a peculiar lower-case “y,” without any hook and closely trimmed; also a badly cast lower-case “o”; but whether this was a new fount, or merely an old one trimmed, must be left for typographical experts to decide.

About this time Wynkyn de Worde began to use roman type, and in other ways the character of his work underwent certain changes, which seem to mark off the last period of his life from that which had preceded it, and to deserve a chapter to itself.

## CHAPTER IV

WYNKYN DE WORDE—*continued*

*Increase in his business—Notable books to 1534—Cited to appear before Tunstall—School-books in octavo—His death—Abstract of his will—Inventory of the "Sun" in Fleet Street—De Worde's character as printer, bookbinder, and bookseller—His devices.*



## CHAPTER IV

**W**E now enter upon the third period of Wynkyn de Worde's history. The "new learning" as it was called was making rapid headway in England, and his press was kept busy printing educational books in ever increasing numbers. Since 1516, Robert Whittington's grammatical books had held the field, and while De Worde still continued to print these year after year, the writings of Erasmus, Colet, and Banbridge share the honours with him. In fact his press was unable to keep pace with the demand, and there is abundant evidence that he called to his aid Thomas Berthelet, Peter Treveris, and John Skot, in addition to that rendered to him by Robert Copland, while we strongly suspect that at times he put work into the hands of Richard Pynson.

It was not only in the educational world that the old order of things was changing. In spite of the most stringent repression and the thunderings of Archbishops and Bishops, the new religion, like the new learning, was not to be restrained, and the Reformers were making themselves heard. What were termed "heretical books" were printed in England as well as on the Continent, and amongst the many devotional works that came from De Worde's press between 1520 and 1535,

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he printed or caused to be printed more than one of that nature.

In the field of general literature he maintained his output to the close of his life, turning out chronicles, romances, poetical satires, books for the housewife, and chap-books for the fireside as freely as before. Many of these were reprints, but this only shows how firm a hold they had gained upon the reading public.

Coming now to details. Amongst the dated books of the year 1520 was a reprint of Robert Whittington's *Syntax*, noticeable as containing roman type, and it is characteristic of the printer that in this reform he was at least eleven years behind his rival Pynson; and even then he made no general use of it, showing a marked preference for English Black Letter.

A second edition of the *Colloquies* of Erasmus in quarto was another of his publications of that year, the first, issued in the preceding year, having been sold out almost at once. In the *Day Book* of John Dorne, the Oxford bookseller,<sup>1</sup> showing his sales for the year 1520, he records ten copies of Wynkyn de Worde's edition. These impressions were not commissioned by the author, who is only known to have given one work to a printer in England—his translation of Plutarch, printed by Pynson in 1513.

One of his undated books that was perhaps printed in

<sup>1</sup> Oxford Historical Society Publications.

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this year was *The Life of Picus de Mirandula*, written by Sir Thomas More, as a new year's gift to a pious lady named Joyeuse Leigh. The date usually assigned to this is 1510; but the type with which it was printed as well as the condition of the device at the end point to a much later date.

In 1521 De Worde printed a new edition of Whittington's *Vulgaria*, in what appears to be an absolutely new fount of Black Letter. The letters are all perfect, and print sharply and clearly. The lower-case "y" was of two sorts, one with the back curved and finishing with a loop, the other with an angular back and no loop worth mentioning. Unlike previous issues, the examples in this edition are printed in English, and while the Latin rules of syntax which form the text are the same as those in his *De Syntaxis*, the translations of examples on these rules are peculiar to this edition. Some of the examples show considerable humour. One of them reminds us that pupils in those days were expected to speak nothing but Latin while they were in school, the speaker threatening a comrade that if he accuses him to the master for speaking English, he (the speaker) would retaliate by complaining that his accuser was fighting during the master's absence.

There are two interesting collections of Whittington's tracts in the British Museum, both in contemporary bindings of stamped leather, one having the royal arms of Henry VIII.

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and Katharine of Aragon, and the other those of Henry and Anne Boleyn (C. 40 e, 1, 2).

One of the few folios of the year 1521 was a new edition of R. Chertsey's devotional work, the *Floure of the Commandements*, printed in Black Letter, the same as that used in the *Vulgaria*. Some good woodcut initials are found in this book, and at the end Chertsey's coat-of-arms, surrounded by four border pieces on the verso of the last leaf.

Another of Chertsey's works printed by De Worde in that year was *The passion of Christ*, to which Robert Copland supplied a metrical prologue.

In 1524 the first italic type used in England is seen in Robert Wakefield's *Oratio de utilitate linguarum*, being used for the marginal notes, the text being in roman. This work also contains the first specimen of Hebrew printing in this country, the words being rudely cut on wood. The author complains that he has had to omit a third part because the printer had no Hebrew type (Reed, *Old English Letter Foundries*, 1887, pp. 51, 64). The title-page is in a border made up of five separate pieces, and at the end is the printer's device (M'Kerrow, 46), also with a border of four pieces.

For the next interesting event in the career of this printer we are indebted to the researches of Prof. A. W. Reed, communicated to the Bibliographical Society of

**R**ycharde Rolle hermyte of Hampull in  
his contemplacyons of the drede and loue of  
god With other dyuerse tytles as it the Weth  
in his table.

cially by her psalter. All they meruaylled of thafflu-  
ence of his Wordes. They Were astonyed at the grete  
Wonders. To Whome he sayd. O faythfull and true  
lordes and other true louers of the fayth: here this syn

ne to other perauenture for whom þ prayest. Also ma-  
ny nien prayed somtyme for no good entent and for  
that they be not herde. Therfore to be alwaye syker

*phlegeton ardens. Luctu cohitus. triske sonas acheron. Construe (Ista lra dz legi inter-  
rogatiue.) Quenā. i. que et nam est syllabica adiectio. sicut met et piam in hoc nomine q̄piā  
(voluptas. alij habent voluntas. dira. i. crudelis et inordinata auertit. i. aliorū vertit celico-  
las. i. deos superos quasi celum colentes. Nunquid ordo maximus. s. vniuersi eo q̄ ordina-  
tissime mundus ordinatur et regitur. reliquit. i. dimisit. loca dimisit. loca zodiaci. s. propria*

*Ar̄s artis f. a craft. i. Ar. c. ve. r. re. Auxilium helpe. 70. Cum m. c. e.  
r. Ar. l. c. ar. r. a. ¶ 28. Reqr̄ c. l. i. v. e. sec n. c. Cum te auxil. a. i. su.  
Qu. n. a. ar. p. f. ¶ 13. No m. sacrileg. Bellum batell. 21. Furgi. p. v. f. c.  
m. v. p. ar. Lu. ar. Lu. p. ac. Et n. f. a. f. be. m. ¶ 45. Dext. p.*

## GRAMMATICAE PRIMA PARS

Roberti VVhitintoni L. L. nuperri-  
me recensita, Liber quintus.

De verborū præteritis & supinis cū cō-  
mento necnon interliniari ei-  
tionum interpretatiōe.

clopediā pariter ac linguas degustare omnes, *Ita (ut et adinuicen-*  
Nā nec in tritis & vulgatis illis formalitatib⁹, *tes) una ex aliis depe-*  
quidditatibus, primis & secundis intētionib⁹, *lingua ut ōnes sinu-*  
respectibus, instātibus, prioritatibus, et id ge- *ta circulum efficiere-*  
*antur.*

SPECIMEN OF PRINTING TYPES IN USE BY WYNKYN DE WORDE.

1501-1534



## *Wynkyn de Worde*

London in a paper entitled, *The Regulation of the book trade before the proclamation of 1538*, and by whose courtesy we have been allowed to make free use of it.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the vicar-general's books in the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of London, now kept amongst the Probate Records at Somerset House, is a volume called *Foxford*, after Richard Foxford, who was vicar-general between 1520 and 1538. Its contents are of a very miscellaneous character, and amongst them Mr Reed found five entries of great interest to historians of English printing between the years 1524 and 1528. Heretical books, especially those of Lutheran views, had been imported into England from abroad, and had also been printed and sold in this country in such alarming numbers that Bishop Tunstall, in 1524, was roused to action. Accordingly, on the 12th October in that year, he summoned the booksellers of London before him and solemnly warned them against importing Lutheran books into England from Germany, and against selling or parting with any that they might happen to have, and any new books received by them from abroad were to be submitted for approval either to the Lord Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, or the Bishop of Rochester.

A year later he summoned before him Wynkyn de

<sup>1</sup> Bibliographical Society of London, *Transactions*, vol. xv., Oct. 1917 to March 1919, pp. 157-84.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Worde and John Gough to answer a charge of having published a work called the *Image of Love*.

De Worde confessed that he was one of those present on the 12th October 1524, and that since that date he had printed the *Image of Love*, which was alleged to contain heresy, and had sent sixty copies to the nuns of Syon, and had sold as many more. Gough, who is described as a "printer," confessed that he had translated the book for De Worde, and had received it from a certain Edward Lockwood.

The vicar-general thereupon warned them not to sell any more, and to get back any that they had already sold. Further, the parties were to appear before him in the Consistory Court at a later date; but *Foxford* had no record of any later meeting.

There are two copies of the *Image of Love* now known, one at Stonyhurst College and the other in Trinity College, Cambridge. The date in the colophon of the copy at Stonyhurst is 7th October 1525.

The subject-matter of the book is dealt with in More's *Dialogue*, and as its title implied was directed against the use of images. It was reprinted again without date, but while John Gough was in occupation of part of John Rastell's premises between 1532 and 1536. Of this later edition there is a copy in the Bodleian Library in its original stamped binding.

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Three months later De Worde's neighbour Thomas Berthelet, of the sign of the Lucrece in Fleet Street, was summoned before the vicar-general for printing a book entitled *The Treatise of the Pater-Noster*. Apart from these proceedings, this book has a fascinating and somewhat romantic history. It was a translation made by Sir Thomas More's daughter Margaret, when she was nineteen, of Erasmus's *Treatise on the Pater-Noster*, and indicates that Erasmus' writings were read in the More household. The book further has an introduction by another young inmate under More's roof, Richard Hyrde, who filled the post of tutor. This introduction took the form of a discourse on female education, the earliest known English work on that subject, and was addressed to "the most studyous and virtuous yonge mayde Fraunces S.," a kinswoman of Margaret's, and for whom the young tutor seems to have had a soft corner in his heart. But fate was unkind, the young man dying whilst on an embassy to the Pope in 1528. There appear to be strong grounds for believing that this *Treatise* was printed by Thomas Berthelet for Wynkyn de Worde, who supplied the material; the type, so far as can be judged, is identical with the type seen in the Whittington *Vulgaria* of 1521, although it does not look so sharp and clear as in that work, owing probably to its having been in use some time, or to its not having been recently cleaned; but the lower-case y's are unmistakable. Moreover, the cut on

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the title-page and the ornaments that surround it were De Worde's, and, as if to clinch the matter, the initial P, seen on sig. B.4 in the British Museum copy, is found on the recto of the first leaf of the *Rote or Myrroure of consolacyon and conforte*, which has De Worde's imprint, and is bound up with Erasmus' work (C. 37 e, 6 (1) and (2)).

If this conclusion is right, it explains the mention of Berthelet in Robert Copland's "Envoy" to the *Seven Sorrowes that Women have when their Husbandes be dead*:--

"Go lytle quayre, god geve the wel to sayle  
To that good shepp, ycleped Bartelet.  
For through it thou mayst the more prevayle  
Agaynst the rockes, that blyndly ben yset  
Upon the land, thy substaunce for to fret.  
And from all nacyons, if it be thy lot  
Lest thou be hurt, medle not with a Scot."

Berthelet, who was then only at the threshold of his career, was evidently adding to his income by printing books for his brother printers, and in this business had gained more favourable notice than John Skot, who had also printed several books for Wynkyn de Worde.

Little more need be said about this printer's work. In 1529 he reprinted *L'Morte d'Arthur* in small folio. This was the third edition, and was printed in two founts of Black Letter, in double columns with headlines, and each book was preceded by a spirited woodcut. Most of

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these had appeared in the edition of 1498 and in other books.

The romantic history of King Arthur and his knights found an echo in the valorous deeds of Richard I., King of England, known as the "Lion-hearted." De Worde had printed this in 1509, and brought out another edition in 1528, and this too had a variety of illustrations.

About this time he also published a curious work of a devotional character, called *Lucydarye*, which took the form of a dialogue between a master and his pupil. In this he used several of the figures seen in his edition of the play of *Hyckscorner*, which, as Mr A. W. Pollard has shown in his interesting paper on English Illustrated Books,<sup>1</sup> first appeared in Verard's edition of Terence.

In 1532 De Worde began to print his educational books in octavo. Readers of the works of Erasmus, Colet, and Lily seem to have shown a preference for this form. Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium* was one of these dainty little volumes. It is printed in double columns, the Latin text in italic (86 mm.), and the translation in small Black Letter (62 mm.). Another issued in the same year was *Catonis moralia* and other writings by Erasmus. In this a smaller fount of italic was used (68 mm.) with roman. Amongst other books printed in this form were Tully's *Offices*, Lily's *De generibus nominum*, and Colet's

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. vi., part i., p. 38.

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*De octo partibus orationis*, all issued in 1533 and 1534.

After a long and busy life Wynkyn de Worde died in the early days of the year 1535. Like his master Caxton, he left no heir. His will was dated the 5th June 1534, and was proved on the 19th January following. Speaking of this document in his Sanders Lectures on the *Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London*,<sup>1</sup> the late E. G. Duff used these words:—

“It is much to be regretted that this most valuable document has never been reprinted in full, for both the published abstracts (Herbert’s *Ames*, 119, 120, and Plomer’s *Abstracts of Wills*, 3, 4) omit important names.”

With regard to the last named, we owe it to ourselves to show that Mr Duff was mistaken. We have checked our abstract with the original at Somerset House, and find that only three names were omitted, two of which, by no stretch of the imagination, can be called important. One was Robert Woodward of Bristow, and the other George Milman, to each of whom he remitted the debts they owed him. They *may* have been provincial booksellers to whom he sold books, or ordinary customers, but so far as we are aware nothing whatever is known about them. The only important name omitted from that abstract was that of

<sup>1</sup> P. 139.

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“Alard the bookbinder,” to whom he left a bequest of books.

For the rest he left to his servants, that is persons who were working for him at the time of his death, Robert Darby, Robert Maas, John Barbanson, Hector, Simon [? Martynson], and John Wislyn, bequests of books. To “Nowell the bookbinder in Shoe Lane,” whom Mr Duff identified as Noel Havy, a Frenchman, a similar bequest. To each of his apprentices, whose names were not given, he bequeathed printed books to the value of three pounds apiece. John Byddell, the printer, is described as “late my servant,” and with James Gaver, also so described, is appointed executor. He further appointed as his overseers Henry Pepwell, John Gough, and Robert Copland, to each of whom he left a legacy of printed books. He further instructed his executors to purchase land near London, the income from which was to be spent in an obit for his soul and in a yearly gift of 20s. to the poor of the parish of St Bride’s.<sup>1</sup>

John Byddell and James Gaver continued to live and carry on business at the “Sun.”

In 1553, the year in which Queen Mary came to the throne, Edward Whitchurch, the printer, whose chief work lay in the printing of the Bible and the Protestant prayer-book, was in possession of the house. A month

<sup>1</sup> P.C.C. 22 Hogen.

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before Mary's accession, foreseeing trouble ahead, he disposed of the printing-house to William and Humphrey Powell. They failed to carry out their contract, and an action was brought against them at the instance of Whitchurch to recover the goods and chattels, in other words the contents of the printing- and dwelling-house, and an inventory of these formed part of the documents.<sup>1</sup> This inventory is particularly interesting, because in addition to describing minutely the contents of the printing, bindery, and casting house, it gave the stock of books that were in the shop, and the bulk of these were books that had been printed by Wynkyn de Worde—were in fact his remainder copies—still on the premises, twenty years after his death. They included the following:—

8 bokes [or copies] of *The Complaynt of them that be too soon maryed*, said, on somewhat doubtful authority, to be the last book De Worde printed.

12 copies of *The Complaynt of them that be too late maryed*, which he is believed to have printed about 1534.

3 of *Ortus Vocabulorum*.

25 of *Insamples of evell tongues*, one of the small metrical pieces that were a feature of his press.

16 of the *Martiloge in Englysshe*.

50 of Hawes' *Conversion of Swerers*—

<sup>1</sup> *The Library*, 3rd Series, July 1915.



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while in another part of the house were other books, some of which may have been there in De Worde's time.

All that can be said of Wynkyn de Worde as a printer is that, when he liked, he could turn out good work. He possessed some well-cut and well-cast founts of Black Letter of all sizes, and towards the end of his life several founts of roman and italic. His "blacks" are seen to the best advantage in such folios as *The Golden Legend*, *The Chronicles of England*, and *The Orchard of Syon*. His educational books were also, as a rule, clearly and well printed, the small gothic type used for "glosses" harmonising well with the more dignified Black Letter and roman of the text. But his work was often spoiled by stupid mistakes and carelessness in both composition and press-work. His title-pages again were often disfigured by the incongruous selection of blocks which he used as borders. He was utterly devoid of all artistic feeling. He had no literary tastes, and we miss the quaint and often delightful prologues and epilogues that are found in Caxton's books, and which were poorly replaced by Robert Copland's mediocre verse. Students of our older literature owe him gratitude for having given them many of the old romances, and a few plays.

But his work as a printer was only one of his activities. He was also a bookbinder and a bookseller. We know little of his work as a bookbinder. The binding tools that had belonged to Caxton passed to him, and there are

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several bindings on which these were used that may be ascribed to him, and very possibly those noted in the British Museum as covers to the collections of Whittington tracts were his work. Most of the binders whom he employed were foreigners, and most likely used rolls of foreign design.

His business as a bookseller must have been a large one, even if we suppose it to have been confined to the sale of his own books. But there is no reason to suppose that it was limited in this way. There would probably have been found on his stall copies of the books printed by other London printers, and the most recent productions of foreign presses.

We may fittingly bring this account of the life and work of De Worde to a close with a word or two as to his devices.

Dr R. B. M'Kerrow, in his valuable book on *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland*, 1485-1640, has reproduced no less than fourteen examples of De Worde's device. The first he used was Caxton's old block (M'Kerrow, 1), his mark with his initials. The next (M'Kerrow, 1b) was a smaller block of the same mark, with floral decoration above and below. The third and fourth consisted of Caxton's mark and initials with a flowering bush beneath them and surrounded by a border (M'Kerrow, 10a, 10b), the same block in two states, which

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was in use between 1498 and 1502. The fifth variety (M'Kerrow, 11) is what Herbert describes as the black-grounded device. It was much smaller than any of those that had preceded it, measuring only  $32 \times 47$  mm., and was sometimes used with a later variety. There was also a still smaller block (M'Kerrow, 2), measuring only  $40 \times 43$  mm., showing Caxton's initials and mark on a white ground. These were followed by the familiar tripartite device, of which Mr M'Kerrow records no less than four varieties (Nos. 12, 19, 20, 21). The first was that with the C reversed, which is found in the *Manipulus Curatorum* of 1502. No. 19 is that showing the star with six points to the left of the sun, in use between 1504 and 1518. No. 20 is the copy of this with the star of seven points, in use between 1519 and 1528, which was succeeded by No. 21, in which ten small stars appear to the right of the sun, instead of nine. This is found in books between 1528 and 1534.

There were two further varieties of this device (M'Kerrow, 24 and 25). No. 24 measured  $77.5 \times 64$  mm., and like that seen in the rejected block of 1502 shows a unicorn in the bottom panel instead of a dog. This block De Worde sent abroad to be placed in books that were printed for him by foreign printers, and it is found in the *Sarum Breviary* printed in Paris in 1507, and in the *York Manual* of 1509. No. 25 was a smaller copy of No. 20 ( $91 \times 70$  mm.), and had sixteen stars in the top panel instead of

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twenty. This was in use between 1508 and 1531. It afterwards passed to Byddell, and the upper part of it is found in the hands of Whitchurch in 1545.

In 1507 De Worde had another device cut (M'Kerrow, 23). This again was tripartite, but differed in shape and design from the others, being oblong (69 × 92 mm.), and showing the sun over a crescent in the upper portion. It was in use between 1507 and 1529, and as in the case of its companion block, the various stages of its deterioration are most useful in assigning the date of printing of undated books. For this reason Mr M'Kerrow has given three facsimiles of it. Another variety of this tripartite device was a small block (36 × 46 mm.) with the sun and four small stars at the top, and the printer's name in a border at the bottom (M'Kerrow, 27). It was used in *Nicodemus Gospel* in 1509, and again in the *Sarum Horæ* of 1514. Later on the lower part was cut off, and it appeared in that mutilated condition in another edition of the *Horæ*. A device of an entirely different character made its appearance in the *Manipulus Curatorum* of 1509. It measured 79 × 72 mm., and the design was Caxton's mark upheld by a sagittary and a greyhound, with the moon, two planets, and sixteen stars above them, and the initials W. C. below, the whole showing white on a black stippled ground with De Worde's name, black on white, at the foot. This block began to crack in 1519, and is not found after 1520.

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A further variety is found in an undated edition of the *Modus tenendi unum hundredum*. This was a most extraordinary composition. Caxton's mark appears between true lovers' knots, and the letters W. C. on either side. Below this is the sun flanked on one side by flowers and on the other by a vine with grapes. Above Caxton's mark is a crescent and a star, a ribbon with De Worde's name flanked by a planet on either side, the whole design being in outline on a white ground.

In 1520 the last of De Worde's devices came into use, and was of a very elaborate character. This is how Mr M'Kerrow (46) describes it:—

“Device with William Caxton's mark and initials in centre on a shield upheld by two boys at sides and a winged cherub above. At the top the sun, moon, and six stars apparently on the ceiling of a building supported on four pillars. Below, the name of Wynkyn de Worde.”

In addition we may add that the Tudor rose is a feature of the design, and also two martial-looking figures standing on the outer columns. The block measured 94 × 70 mm., and was very effective when surrounded, as it generally was, by a border. Some time about 1523 the background was cut away. In this state it passed to Byddell, who used it in *The dialogue between Julius the second, Genius, and St Peter*, which he printed in 1535, and did not trouble to erase De Worde's name.



## CHAPTER V

RICHARD PYNSON

*Early history—Was he the “glover”?—His acquaintance with Machlinia—The Sege of Rhodes—Visit to Rouen—Dealings with John Russhe—Notable books printed by him between 1480 and 1500—The assault on him—Moves into the City.*



## CHAPTER V

**C**HIEF amongst the contemporaries of Wynkyn de Worde was Richard Pynson. By birth a Norman, he is believed to have been a student in the University of Paris in 1464.<sup>1</sup> A chance discovery at the Public Record Office furnishes the next link in his history. In the year 1482, a certain William Pays or Symonds was charged before the courts in London with misdemeanour and was remanded on bail, two sureties presenting themselves. One of these was described on the record<sup>2</sup> as, "Ric[ardu]s Pynson de parochia sancti Clementis Danorum extra barri noui Templi London, in com[itatu] Middlesex, glover." It is not unlikely that Richard Pynson the glover was identical with Richard Pynson the printer. It is true the name was not unknown in England, and there is no impossibility of there being two Richard Pynsons living in the parish of St Clement Danes at the same time. On the other hand it is quite possible that Richard Pynson who afterwards became the printer may have come over to England some years earlier than has generally been supposed and set up as a merchant in gloves. As will be shown later, he was sometimes

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *Sanders Lectures*, 1906, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O. Controlment Roll, Trin., 22 Edward IV., Memb. 14.

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described as a "pouchmaker," and traded in many things besides books.

If the identity of the glover and the printer is admitted, it proves that instead of coming over from abroad to take over Machlinia's business, Pynson was settled in St Clement Danes parish as early as 1482, and may even have been there when Caxton arrived at Westminster in 1476, in which case his reference to Caxton as his "worshipful master" may have been something more than a mere compliment. At any rate this discovery provides an excuse for attempting to reconstruct Pynson's early career.

His education would have given him an interest in books, and the Customs House returns show that many merchants other than legitimate booksellers imported books for their customers. His desire to become a printer may have been simply a business speculation.

Where he first learnt to print is a much more interesting question. Caxton learnt in an office in Cologne by helping to set up an edition of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomæus Anglicus. Why may not Pynson have learnt the art by helping to print a book in an office in London?

The only fifteenth-century English book of which the printer is unknown is *The History of the Sege of Rhodes*, a folio printed without date.

Dibdin, in his *Typographical Antiquities*, showed for once some bibliographical shrewdness when he recognised

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the type with which the *Sege* was printed as being one used by Lettou & Machlinia, who began printing in 1480.

Now Pynson most certainly knew William de Machlinia, who, in the very year in which Pynson is first found at St Clement Danes, had dissolved partnership with Lettou and is believed to have removed his press to Fleet Bridge, which was no great distance from Pynson's house.

There is not the slightest doubt that he took with him the type with which the *Sege of Rhodes* was printed. None the less, experts are agreed that the printing was not the work of Machlinia. It is believed to have been the work of an unskilled hand, and if Pynson the glover and Pynson who afterwards succeeded to Machlinia's business were identical, there seems to be a strong probability that it was his hand that set up the *Sege of Rhodes* in Machlinia's office. Another feature of the book that lends some colour to this suggestion, is that the sheets were without signatures, an omission that was common to books from that office.

The exact date at which Machlinia ceased to print is unknown. His last issue is believed to have been a Papal Bull issued by Innocent VIII., ratifying the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York, which was dated the 27th March 1486, and was no doubt printed as soon as it reached England, but how soon after that Machlinia quitted the premises there is nothing to show. It seems more likely to have been in 1487 than as late as 1490. It is hardly

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conceivable that any length of time elapsed before Pynson took over the work. No other printer in London except Machlinia had printed law books in the then current law-French, and England would have been left without such books if there had been any great interval between Machlinia's departure and Pynson's succession.<sup>1</sup> Not only so, but the chances are that if the premises had been closed for any length of time, the waste left in the printing house would have been cleared away by other hands than Pynson's. Instead of that Pynson had it removed to his own house in St Clement's parish, and used it to line the boards of his earliest bindings, and amongst other things that Machlinia had left behind was the border he had used in his edition of the Sarum *Horæ*.

It is generally admitted that Pynson was at work as a printer several years before we meet with his first dated book. The earliest example of his printing is said to have been a reprint of Caxton's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. This is a very handsome folio of 324 leaves printed in two founts of type, one a large and bold Black Letter measuring 120 mm. to 20 lines, and the other a smaller letter, resembling script, and generally known as secretary type, which made 101 mm. to 20 lines. The larger type was used for the poem, and was somewhat unevenly cast. But of its picturesque character there is no question. The

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *Sanders Lectures*, p. 56.

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small gothic was much more regularly cast, and closely resembled those in use by Jaques C. Forestier, and we may feel fairly certain that they were both of French origin. The book was also illustrated with woodcuts representing the various characters, coarsely drawn and coarsely executed. In addition to the *Canterbury Tales*, four other books were printed with these types, presumably about the same time. One of these, the *Donatus Melior*, is only known from a few fragments. Another was perhaps a popular romance of some kind, known as the *Ghost of Guy* or *Spiritus Guidonis*. Of this, two little strips, now in the Bodleian, are all that remain.

In addition to these, two *Year Books* of 1 and 9 Edward IV. are in these types. A noticeable feature about the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Year Books* is that the sheets are signed in the usual English method, *i.e.* a j, a ij, a iij, and so on. If the received opinion is right that these are Pynson's earliest books, then it is evident that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with that method in some other office than Machlinia's before he went to Rouen, although the presence of his first device, which closely resembled Le Talleur's, points to their having been printed on his return to England.

About the year 1490, Pynson was doing business with a merchant of London named John Russhe. A number of documents relating to an action brought by Pynson against

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Russhe, to recover the balance of a debt, were found at the Public Record Office some years ago. These documents were fully described, and the more important of them printed in the *Library* of April 1909. To recapitulate the story as briefly as possible, Pynson's complaint was that John Russhe had commissioned him to print a number of books, amongst which were mentioned *Dives and Pauper*, *Bocas off the Falle of Princes*, Mirk's *Festivalis*, and several Mass Books, to the total value of one thousand marks, and had undertaken to bear half the cost of the printing. Russhe had further desired "other bokys of other storys" to take with him into the country, and, in addition to the books, Pynson alleged that he had supplied Russhe with large sums of money, as well as furs, horse harness, says, chamlets, linen cloth, and other things. Some dispute arose over the accounts, and Russhe refused to pay the sum demanded, with the result that Pynson declared he had lost £100, and further, that he would not have printed any of the books if he had thought that Russhe would fail to carry out his bargain.

The answer was a total denial of the plaintiff's statements, and while every allowance must be made for wounded feelings in a case of that kind, it seems feasible that the evidence given by Russhe's widow, that Pynson was her husband's factor for the printing of books abroad, had an element of truth in it, and from this we may argue that

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it was while he was abroad on Russhe's business in 1490 that Pynson spent some time in the printing office of Guillaume de Talleur at Rouen.

He had commissioned the printer to print for him two law books, an edition of Lyttleton's *Tenures* and Statham's *Abridgement*, but whether these were part of Russhe's order there is no evidence to show. The *Abridgement* is remarkable, having two preliminary leaves of "Contents," at the end of which are printed the words "Per me Ricardum Pynson," while the book itself has no colophon. The inference is, not that Pynson printed the whole book, but that he set up these two leaves. He also, during his stay, made himself thoroughly familiar with the methods of working used in Le Talleur's office.

On his return to England he put in hand his first dated book, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Grammaticus, the colophon of which gives the date as "decimatertia die mensis Nouembris Anno i[n]carnationis domini nostri, Mcccclxxxij." Throughout this book the Norman method of signatures is used, that is, the sheets are signed and not the leaves. The types used in it were the secretary, previously used in the *Canterbury Tales*, and a small neat gothic for the commentary, used for the first time (2 and 3).

Pynson's next undertaking was *Dives and Pauper*, one of the books that he printed at the desire of John Russhe. It was a handsome folio, the text printed in double columns

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of 36 lines. Two new founts of type (Nos. 4 and 5) were used in printing it, both Black Letter, the larger for chapter headings and the smaller for the text. That used for the text is a strikingly picturesque fount, more regularly cast than that used in the *Canterbury Tales*, from which it is distinguished by having a "secretary" or "batarde" lower-case "a" instead of a gothic, while the lower-case "h" has a sharp angular finish, and two sorts of lower-case "y," one with hardly any tail to it and the other with an angular curve. Both this and type 1 were probably cast in France. The colophon tells us that it was finished on the 5th July 1493, and until the discovery of the *Doctrinale*, this book ranked as the first of Pynson's dated books. From the schedule put in at the trial of Pynson's action against Russhe, we learn that the edition consisted of six hundred copies, and that half of them were sold to Russhe at the wholesale price of four shillings a piece, equivalent to about £2 in present day value. What profit he made on them we do not know.

No other dated book is found printed with the types of the *Dives and Pauper*, but four undated quartos, the *Festum Nominis Iesu*, *The Life of St Margaret*, Lydgate's poem, *The Churl and Birde*, and an edition of some law book, only known from a fragment at Lambeth, were printed with the same type, and may be ascribed to about this date. The British Museum copy of the *Festum* is

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bound with a work of Caxton's, and the superiority of Pynson as a craftsman is at once manifest, the setting of the type being much more regular, and whereas Caxton's types are over inked, Pynson's have a clean and sharp appearance.

Mirk's *Liber Festivalis*, another of the books printed to the order of John Russhe, was issued about this time. This work has already been referred to under Wynkyn de Worde. It was a useful service book, and Pynson printed two editions, both in the same type, the difference between them consisting in the addition of the services for feast days not included in the first: but whether both issues appeared in the same year may be doubted.

In 1494 the most important work that came from Pynson's press was Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *Falle of Princes*, also undertaken at the express desire of John Russhe. The subject of the book, the mutability of greatness, was a popular one, and Pynson's edition was rendered more attractive by some good woodcuts. It made a handsome folio, and was printed on thick paper in the earlier types of the Chaucer. Again six hundred copies formed the edition, and the cost of printing was £120. In this book Pynson's second device is found. This consisted of his initials on a black shield, surmounted by a helmet upon which is perched a small bird, a finch, the Norman name for which was "pynson." This was enclosed within a border of foliage, birds, and animals. Towards the end

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of 1496 the right-hand edge began to split, and broke off entirely in 1497. To this year, 1494, is also attributed the *Speculum vitæ Christi*, noticeable for its illustrations, which were copied from the earlier edition issued by Caxton.

In the following year Pynson began to issue the six comedies of Terence, by printing *Hecyra*, the sixth and last of the series. The *Phormio* and the *Adelphæ* were printed about the same time, but the *Andria*, the first of the series, is dated 1497, and has on the verso of the title-page Pynson's second device with the break at the side. The book was a quarto, and is printed with types 2, 3, 6, and 7, the colophon stating that it was finished on the 20th January 1495, and the Norman method of signature by the sheet was used. How these came to be bound up in the order in which they are found can only be explained by the supposition that the copy in which they are found was made up from various issues. Among the undated books that were probably issued about the year 1495 were the *Expositio Hymnorum*, the *Expositio Sequentiarium*, two popular service books, the *Epitaph of Iasper, Duke of Bedford*, half-brother of Henry VI., who died on 21st December 1495, with a cut, not used elsewhere, of the author kneeling, with a hawk on his wrist, presenting a book to another person; *The Foundation of Our Ladys Chapel at Walsingham*, and most interesting of all, the first edition of John

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Mandeville's *Wayes to Ierusalem*. As a book of travel, Mandeville's book is one of the quaintest, full of weird and wonderful tales. It was printed with type 2, but without illustrations. Another curious point about this book is that the border which surrounds the device was reversed.

Amongst devotional books, none was more popular than Bishop Alcock's *Mons Perfectionis*, which is amongst Pynson's dated books of the year 1497, while an undated edition by Wynkyn de Worde is attributed to the same year. Pynson's issue contained his third device, which was cut in metal, and was evidently intended to take the place of the earlier one. But he was singularly unfortunate. At the bottom part of the frame in this new device, a piece had been cut out in the shape of a ribbon, and was evidently intended for the insertion of his name in type: but this weakened the frame so much that in 1499 it began to give way, and the bend became greater as time went on, until in 1513 the piece broke off altogether. Needless to say, the various stages of this gradual collapse are useful in fixing the possible date of printing of those undated works in which this device is found; although, as the process was very gradual, the exact date cannot be determined within several years.

Seven dated books are found in 1498, the most important being a reissue of the *Doctrinale*, Mayderton's

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*Directorium Sacerdotum*, and the *Opus grammaticum*, of Sulpitius.

In 1499 two editions of the *Abbreviations of the Statutes* were printed by Pynson in octavo. One of these formed the subject of an action brought by the printer against Robert Bouryng, Robert Fermour, and Christopher Saint German, for failing to carry out their part of an agreement by which they undertook to correct the copy and examine every leaf after it was printed. The three defendants were gentlemen of the Middle Temple, and one of them, Christopher Saint German, is best remembered as the compiler of a very popular legal treatise called *A Dialogue in Englysshe betwyxt a Doctoure of Dyuynyte and a Student in the Lawes of Englande*. They had agreed to pay Pynson £20 for 409 copies of the *Abbreviations*, bound and clasped. Trouble subsequently arose between the parties, and the case was heard in the Court of Chancery, but there is no record of the result.

Pynson closed the century by producing the finest book that had been printed in England up to that time. Amongst those who recognised his abilities as a printer was Cardinal John Morton, and he commissioned Pynson to print for him a *Sarum Missal*, and there is little doubt that he defrayed the cost. The book was finished in 1500. Copies were printed both on vellum and paper, and of the five copies that have survived three are on vellum. Some

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very beautiful borders and initials were designed for this, and there is every reason to believe that these were the work of English craftsmen. Amongst other books that belong to the last two years of the fifteenth century are the *Sermons* of Michael of Hungary, a beautifully printed octavo, type 3, the small gothic seen in the *Doctrinale*, being used throughout, the title being printed in type 7; two editions of the *Informatio Puerorum*, a grammar after the manner of the *Donatus*, one of them being printed for George Castelyn or Chasteleyn, an Oxford bookseller, whose name is found a few years later on the Customs Rolls<sup>1</sup> as an importer of books. For another noted stationer Frederick Egmont he also printed in 1499 the *Promptorius Puerorum*, a Latin-English Dictionary, and as a set-off to so much scholastic work, in 1500 the *Book of Cookery*, in which is set out not only the way to cook banquets, but also particulars of some notable feasts.

Altogether some eighty-eight books printed by Pynson down to the close of the year 1500 have come down to us. The "glover" had made good as a "printer"; but although he had been resident in England since 1482, he was the object of jealousy and suspicion on the part of native workmen and trade rivals, and this more than once took the form of assault. On one occasion he summoned his assailants before the Court of Star Chamber, and while the

<sup>1</sup> Library, N. S., Sept. 1923, pp. 146-50.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

documents relating to the case are none of them dated, from the fact that Pynson is described in them as of the parish of St Clement's without Temple Bar, they obviously refer to events that took place before 1501. These documents have also been printed in full in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*,<sup>1</sup> but the story will bear retelling, although the incident was quite a common one in the London streets of the fifteenth century.

Pynson with his wife and some friends had been spending the evening at a tavern near by, and were returning home about ten o'clock at night, when they were attacked by a mob of men and boys, whose leader was a man named Henry Squiers, who ought to have known better, as he is described as the beadle of the parish. Stones were thrown, swords drawn, heads broken, and it was with difficulty that Pynson and his wife got into their house, and even there they were not safe, as the rioters would certainly have broken down the doors if a party of gentlemen had not arrived and driven them off. As it was, several of Pynson's workmen were maimed and hurt during the fight, and none of them dared venture out on their master's business for several days afterwards without being beaten and wounded. As a result he complained that several of them had left him, and his business was brought to a standstill.

That the assault was directed against them because they

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi., pp. 137-41.

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were foreigners was proved by Pynson's statement that the rioters had declared that "neither Frenchman nor Fleming" should live in St Clement's Parish. Here again we lack the sequel and are left in ignorance as to the upshot of the case. But one result was that shortly after this Pynson moved into the safer atmosphere of Fleet Street.



## CHAPTER VI

RICHARD PYNSON, 1501-1530

*First books printed from new address—Law books—  
Mention in Privy Purse expenses—Castle of Labour—  
Leaf in Bodleian not Pynson's—Appointment as King's  
Printer—Some notable books to 1530—His bindings—  
Death and will.*



## CHAPTER VI

PYNSON'S new premises were within Temple Bar, near St Dunstan's Church, at the corner of Chancery Lane and Fleet Street, and were known by the sign of the George. The date of his move is believed to have been either at the latter end of 1500 or the early part of 1501, as the *Boke of Cookery* bore the address "without Temple Bar," and the next book with a date, the *Directorium Sacerdotum* of 1501, "intra barram novi Templi." From this time he discarded the picturesque founts in which his earlier books had been printed, distinguished as types 1 and 2, and retained only the gothic or Black Letter founts, No. 3, and its variant 3\*, used for scholastic work, and types 6 and 7 for ordinary book-work. His law books were printed with type closely resembling that used by Machlinia. To these he added others as time went on, and most of these he obtained from Normandy, although the "blacks" used for ordinary book-work by all the printers of the sixteenth century were so much alike that it is difficult to distinguish one from another.

At the commencement of the century Pynson's "blacks" are distinguishable by the absence of a capital "W," for which he substituted a lower-case letter, and one of these was a crooked and badly cast letter, and

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by this his books can be recognised from those of his contemporaries.

He had succeeded William de Machlinia as the recognised printer of law books, such as the *Abridgement of the Statutes*, *Year Books*, the *Natura Brevium*, *Nova Narrationes*, and Littleton's *Tenures*. These he turned out continuously from 1490 to 1528, in fact we do not yet know the full extent of his output in this direction.

The books themselves are uninteresting and have received little attention at the hands of bibliographers. More often than not the year-books were printed without title-pages. They were printed when other work was slack, and were kept in stock for the purpose of making up sets. They bore no indication of the date of printing, and in some cases consisted of one or two sheets only. These year-books are usually found bound in volumes arranged under regal years, and there is little doubt that many of Pynson's copies are lying undiscovered in legal offices and law libraries.

Nor as yet have we any clear idea as to how far Pynson received official support in printing *Year Books* and *Statutes*. Some years were yet to elapse before his appointment as King's Printer. Yet it seems hardly credible that he would have undertaken such a large and unprofitable work as the *Abbreuiamentum Statutorum* without the King's authority and some kind of grant from the Exchequer. King Henry VII. paid a visit to the

sophi q̄ mercatores. finaliter visum est q̄ magis dedicanda erat philosophia.  
 ⁊ ideo dī pallas (q̄ est dea sapientie) imposuisse nomē. Quia vero de pallade (q̄  
 alio noīe minerva dī) hic fit mentio. videnda est eius descriptio. Ande p̄s-  
 lla nata de cerebro iouis p̄ngit in similitudine cynius dñe armate. cuius caput  
 regebat casside cū crista. ⁊ tenet lanceā in dextera. ⁊ in sinistra scutū cristallinū.  
 in quo depingebat caput mōstruose goigonis cū crinū serpentibus. ⁊ h̄s oculos

the fourthe sorte of ȳ same Leemynster wolle aboue .xij.d. And  
 per/hatter noz any other plone shal nat take by hymself/or any of  
 his vse for any Cappe made of ȳ fynest Cottel wolde wolle aboue  
 any cappe made of ȳ seconde sorte of ȳ same Cottel wolde wolle a

**The Kynges our soueraygne lord Henry t  
 Conquest by the grace of god kyng of Engl  
 ce/and lord of Irland / at his Parlyament**

They are enuyroned with pouertye.  
 Than cometh disconforte in theyr aduersyte.  
 And also dispayze them doth manace.  
 And thought & trouble euer dothe them chace.

quorum lectiōs duplex imprimeretur. R. P.  
 dedecus. Vnum q̄ tam turpes iudices essēt.  
 Alterum q̄ patefactum cognitumq; esset quā  
 multos in ciuitate turpes haberemus. Hanc  
 ergo & reliquas eiusmodi leges etiam si sine

affirmamus, quod attulimus. Sed ad legentis iudicium refe-  
 rimus, ut ex interpretibus Donatus in Hecyra. Sed reprimā  
 me, ne egre quicq̄ ex me audiat. Vtrum inquit egre pro ma-

κυριοι γενόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων πλείω καὶ περχμάτων μεγί-  
 στωρ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς χρηῖσθαι ταῦτα· τὰς ἀφόρμας πεποιή-  
 κασι, ὥς πολλοὺς ἀμφισβητῆιρ πότιρορ ἐς ἰρ' ἄξιορ ἐλέσθαι  
 τῶν βίωρ τὸν τῶν ἰλιωτῶν μετρίωσ δὲ περχήόντων, ἢ τὸν τῶν

SPECIMEN OF PRINTING TYPES IN USE BY RICHARD PYNSON,

1501-1528



## Richard Pynson

printers at Westminster in 1499. As the bounds of Westminster extended east as far as Temple Bar, Pynson's office may have been one of those visited, and the King's object may have been to see how De Worde was getting on with the *Statutes*, or Pynson's progress with the *Abridgement*.

In any case, the State work had to be well done. Henry VII. was a noted book collector, and the royal library contained some of the finest examples of the work of the great Continental printers, and he manifested no little interest in that of Caxton, De Worde, and Pynson. It was, no doubt, with his consent, that in 1501 Pynson printed the arrangements and orders for the reception of the Princess Katharine of Aragon in England, and her subsequent marriage to Prince Henry. To about this time may also be ascribed the undated edition of the *Nova Statuta*, an unpretentious folio, without decoration of any kind except the printer's device on the last page, but well printed in a clear Black Letter (No. 7), with which was used the crooked "w" above noticed. The regularity of the setting throughout this book is very noticeable. A full page contained 48 lines, each 156 mm. in length. The book was certainly finished before 1503, as the state of the lower portion of the device is the same as in books bearing that date, such as the first three books of the *Imitatio Christi*, a quarto printed for the King's mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby. An entry in the Privy Purse

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expenses on 1st November 1503,<sup>1</sup> "To Rycharde Pynson the printer in rewarde, £1," may very well refer to the printing of that book.

Another entry in these expenses runs as follows: "12 July, 1504. To Richard Pynson opon a prest for massebokes to be printed, £10." This again evidently refers to the Sarum *Missal*, the only book with a date printed by Pynson in that year. The colophon informs us that it was printed at the King's expense, and evidently he advanced the printer that sum in order to obtain the paper and vellum and to pay his wages bill. The colophon also declares that the printing was finished in the year 1504, "decimo kalendas Ianuarii." If this means the 10th January 1504/5, and clearly it does, because the work was not commenced until the 12th July preceding, it upsets the late Mr Duff's theory that Pynson always began his year on the 1st January. The entry distinctly says "for massebokes to be printed." Had they been printed and finished on the 10th January 1503/4 the entry would surely have run for "massebokes printed." Besides, there would be no sense in the entry. There is a copy of this *Missal* in Emmanuel College, and another on vellum in the John Rylands Library.

A still more interesting book came from Pynson's press

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliographical Notes from the Privy Purse Expenses of K. Henry VII.* Library, July 1913.

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about the year 1505. Antoine Verard, the Paris publisher, had, a year or two before, put upon the English market the first English edition of Alexander Barclay's translation of P. Gringore's *Le Chasteau de Labour*, under the title of the *Castell of Labour*. This is only known from a leaf in the Bagford collection of title-pages in the British Museum, and some other leaves at Lambeth. The type is recognised as being the same as that in which the *Kalendar of Shepherds* was printed for the same publisher. As soon as Verard's edition was sold out, Pynson printed another, but without putting any date to it. Of this only a single copy is known, which was at one time in the Huth Library, and has now passed into the possession of the nation. It is a quarto of fifty-six leaves (A 8 B—J 6), without pagination, headlines, or catchwords. The title is at the head of the first leaf, above a small cut of several men at work. On the verso of the title-page is a fine cut of a student at his desk. The text is printed in a beautiful fount of Black Letter which had no capital "W"; but whether this was a new fount it would be hard to say. With it was used as initials an exquisite series of small "grotesques," quite evidently French, and differing totally from the coarse and clumsy set used by De Worde, which were most probably of German origin. The illustrations to Pynson's edition of the *Castell of Labour* were copies from the French edition, and are exceedingly well done—in fact, they are

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the best cuts to be found in any English book of that period.

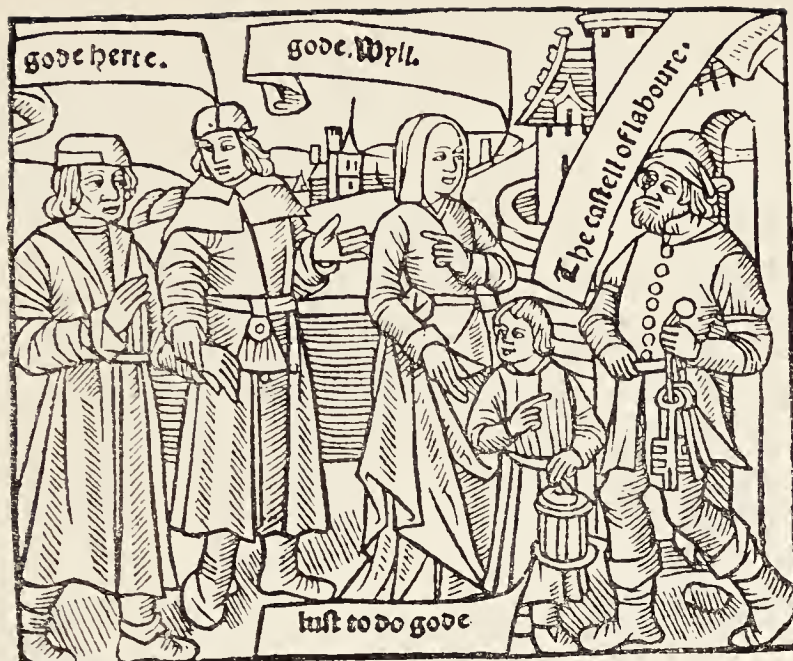
The Bodleian Library is said to possess one leaf of a copy of Pynson's edition, and this was reproduced in facsimile in the introduction to the reprint of De Worde's edition of the same work, made for the Roxburghe Club in 1905, where it appears on page li with the words below, "London, Pynson, c. 1505."

At that time the editor of the Roxburghe reprint had not seen the Huth copy. If he had done so, he certainly would have discovered that there was not the slightest similarity between the leaf in the Bodleian Library and the corresponding leaf in the Huth copy. He saw it later, but it was then too late to correct the error.

The subject of the block that appears on the Bodleian fragment is Good Heart and Good Will and their convert being received at the gate of the castle, and at the bottom of it, on a label are the words "lust to do good." Below this is a stanza of verse beginning, "Than entred we in to the way," the initial T being a clumsily cut grotesque.

In the Huth copy the word "good" is spelt "gode" in each case, while the initial that begins the text below the block is of an ecclesiastical character. The spelling of the text differs in the two, and the type of the Bodleian leaf is much more worn.

Neither does that leaf agree with the corresponding leaf



**W**han entred we into the way  
 Of great payne called dyligence  
 wythout restynge I went alway  
 There founde I no resystence  
 These thre were euer in my presence  
 For the way was vnknownen to me  
 I hasted me vnder theyr defence  
 That I myght there the soner be

Thus went we forth a lytell whyle  
 Of the way was I ignoraunt  
 My thre felawes dyd on me smyle  
 On me beholdynge wyth glad semblaunt  
 Than sawe I this castell fayre & plesaunt

"CASTELL OF LABOUR." R. PYNSON. C. 1505  
 From the Huth Copy



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in the De Worde edition of 1506, and it is evidently from some much later edition of De Worde's.

The recto of sig. 16 in the Huth copy is occupied by Pynson's third device (M'Kerrow, 9b), and its condition shows that the date of printing was about 1505. The verso of that leaf has a small cut, intended to represent the castle, but which might very well have been a view of Southwark with St Mary Overies in the foreground.

*The Kalendar of Shepherds* was another of the books that Verard had printed for the English market, and Pynson in his edition refers to the "rude" English, which was really meant to be Scotch, as being unintelligible, as a reason for his reprint. It was a handsome book, well printed and profusely illustrated, not only with large woodcuts but also with the series of small cuts that had first appeared in Verard's French edition of *Terence*, printed about 1500, and which have been the subject of a good deal of controversy.<sup>1</sup> They were frequently copied, notably by De Worde in his edition of a play called *Hyckescorner* in 1525, but this is probably their first appearance in an English dress.

Pynson's other issues of the year 1506 included an edition of the *Principia* of Peregrinus de Lugo for an Oxford bookseller, George Chasteleyn or Castelyn, who is also found importing books at this time, and a *Sarum Manual*.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliographical Society, *Transactions*, vol. iv. p. 38.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

In 1508 Pynson became King's Printer on the death of William Faques. The grant does not appear to have been entered on the Patent Rolls, but from a later entry it appears that his salary was £2 per annum, which was afterwards increased to £4. His earliest dated proclamation was that of a general pardon issued on the accession of Henry VIII., and dated at Westminster, May 1509 (Steele, 54). The year-book for 22 Edw. IV. was also amongst the earliest of his official publications. This appointment meant a great accession of business, and amongst the Exchequer records are several warrants for the payment to him of large sums of money for his official work.

The year 1509 is notable from the fact that in that year Pynson introduced roman type into England. Two books which he issued in that year, the *Oration* of Peter Gryphus and a work of Savonarola's, were printed entirely in that type, and he also used it with Black Letter in his edition of Alexander Barclay's translation of Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*. This book was illustrated with woodcuts copied from the German edition, and each illustration had a border piece on either side. The first two are not unlike those used by Caxton in *The Fifteen Oes*. Throughout the remainder of the book only four blocks were used and two of these were alike, the design representing a series of half fleur-de-lis alternating with halves of the sign used by heralds for the tincture

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ermine. The other two were a naked figure in the midst of flowers and foliage and spirals of flowers and foliage with birds in their midst.

Another book remarkable for its illustrations was Petrus Carmelianus' description in Latin of the reception of the ambassadors of the Emperor Maximilian, who were appointed to try and negotiate a marriage between the Prince of Castile and Princess Mary. These illustrations are believed to be the work of Spanish woodcutters.

A minor point about this book is the ribbon ornament enclosing the first page. Similar ornaments are found in books printed at Rouen; but it appears to have been a common pattern, as De Worde also used a precisely similar one—in fact, most of the ornaments that began to make their appearance in English books at this time had a common origin, such for instance as the “lozenge,” which is found in use simultaneously by De Worde, Faques, Pynson, and others.

To about this date may be ascribed Pynson's undated edition of John Holt's *Lac puerorum, or Milk for Babes*, the first Latin Grammar printed in English. Its compiler, who was an usher in Magdalen School at Oxford, doubtless prepared the work for the use of his scholars, and he dedicated it to Cardinal Morton, for whom Pynson printed that very beautiful Sarum *Missal* in 1500. Yet this edition of the *Lac puerorum* was not printed until after he became

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King's Printer, and it had been preceded by at least one if not two foreign editions. The type used to print this book was a well-cut and evenly cast Black Letter (68 mm.), which may be reckoned as one of the new founts introduced by Pynson after 1500. The title was in a much larger fount, probably one of the older ones, and below it was the block of a student used in the *Castell of Labour*. Some grotesque face initials, very similar to but smaller than those used by De Worde, make their appearance in this book, but whether they were copies or were obtained independently it would be hard to say. Such blocks no doubt could be obtained quite cheaply from the Continental printers, whom in many respects the printers in England followed slavishly.

Whilst on the subject of school-books a few more of Pynson's may be noticed. In 1513 and again in 1518 he issued editions in quarto of Dean Colet's *De constructione octo partium orationes*, in 1515 an edition of Whittington's *De accentu*, and in 1516 John Barclay's *Latin Grammar*. Then on the 26th June Pynson entered into an agreement with William Horman, usher at King's College, Eton, to print his *Vulgaria*. This agreement was entered formally on the Rolls, and was printed in full by Dr Furnival in 1868. From this we learn that the edition was to consist of 800 copies, that it was to be printed in three founts of type, one for the English, another for the Latin, and the third of great roman letter for the titles.

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The cost of the paper was 5s. per ream, and Pynson was paid £32, 15s. for the printing, and bound himself not to reprint the book within five years. Apart from the interest attaching to this agreement, as an example of the current prices then ruling in the printing trade, Horman's *Vulgaria* is an interesting book in other ways. The examples were drawn from every source, and are arranged broadly under subjects. Under "De scolasticis" are the following about printing:—

"The prynters have found a crafte to make bokes by brassen letters sette in order by a frame" (sig. O ij).

"I wolde nat that this lyttel treattise be marred by the negligence of the prynter."

"Putte not your truste in a bungler of prynters craft."

An even more valuable book than Horman's *Vulgaria* was Cuthbert Tunstall's *De arte supputandi*, printed in 1522. Said to be the first English book on Arithmetic, it was a scholarly work by a scholarly man, and was much more worthy of his pen than his tract on marriage, which Pynson had printed a year or two earlier. The *De arte supputandi* was a large quarto printed with roman type (112 mm.), and the title was surrounded by a one-piece border, known as the Mutius and Porsenna, or Porsena border. In the bottom part of this is represented two parts of the story as told by Livy, with Rome in the background. In the top portion are seen a group of naked children at play, while

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the sides are of an ornamental character, with flowers, fruit, and many other details. In the left-hand border are the initials H. H., showing that Hans Holbein was the designer of the original.

This border was a copy, somewhat clumsily executed, of one used by Froben of Basle.<sup>1</sup>

The printer found a ready sale for these school-books. Even more popular were lives and legends of saints, of which both Caxton and De Worde printed several. In 1516 De Worde printed, for the first time, the *Noua Legenda Angliæ*, a Latin work by John Capgrave, a monk who lived in the fifteenth century.

Not to be outdone, Pynson, in the same year, issued an abridged translation of the work into English, and added the Life of St Bridget and a reprint of Walter Hylton's *Medled Life* from his previous edition of 1505. The whole made a substantial quarto, printed in Black Letter, each part having a separate title-page.

Between 1522 and 1524 Pynson printed several medical works by Galen, the *De motu muscularum*, *De pulsuum usu*, *De naturalibus facultatibus*, and *De symptomatum differentiis*, which were edited by Thomas Linacre, the famous Greek scholar. He had in the press about the same time an edition of Froissart's *Chronicles* in folio. This was printed in Black Letter in double columns, and like all his large

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. v., No. 1, pp. 6-8.

Truste well I shall them all destroye  
 Faythe and charyte shall them noye  
 Se thou all waye do hyr honour  
 So shall she wyt on the employ  
 To knowe howe she men dothe socour

Charyte hathe waytynge one hyr dig nyte  
 Uery trewe loue and misericorde  
 Beneuolence with grace & veryte  
 Amonge them fonde is no discorde  
 But peas mekenesse and concorde  
 These shall the helpe in thy necessyte  
 And thus as I vnto the recoorde  
 They shall enuye auoyde fro the



**A**d than whan done is this assaute  
 On the shall come a tyraunt daungerous  
 whose name is vtye withouten faute  
 To all vyce fyers and desyrrous  
 And vnto vertue all waye contraryous  
 The whiche in seruauntes doth abounde.

“CASTELL OF LABOUR.” R. PYNSON. C. 1505



## *Richard Pynson*

books shows him at his best. It was without illustrations of any kind.

Meanwhile he had entered into an agreement with John Palsgrave, prebendary of St Paul's, to print for him a book to be called *L'Eclaircissement de la langue Français*. By this Palsgrave was to pay six and eightpence for every ream of paper, each to consist of 20 quires. The number of copies was to be 750, and Pynson agreed to print one sheet daily while Palsgrave undertook punctual delivery of the copy. The six and eightpence which Palsgrave agreed to pay per ream was for the paper only, and not for the printing, a certain number of copies being allotted to Pynson at a rate agreed upon, which he could sell and repay himself for the printing. The price worked out at £1, 13s. 4d. per ream.

That portion of the work dealing with pronunciation is believed to have been put to press first, about the year 1524, but the remainder was not finished during the printer's lifetime.

In the subsidy roll for the year 1523-4 the names of many stationers were entered, and Richard Pynson was assessed on a valuation of £60, considerably below that of W. de Worde. From this it has been argued that, in spite of his official position as King's Printer, and all the business that it must have brought him, his work did not pay him so well as the more popular work paid De Worde. But

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this again seems a hasty conclusion, leaving out of account the numerous lawsuits in which Pynson was involved, and which must have drained his resources considerably.

Another glimpse of Pynson is obtained about this time in the pages of the repertories of the City of London. On the 18th December, 20 Hen. VIII. (*i.e.* 1528), the Court of Common Council had before it an account sent in by the printer "for certayn bills and other proclamations" printed at the City's order. The sum demanded was £1, 17s. 3d., but the Chamberlain was directed to tell him that "he must be contented with less."<sup>1</sup>

Pynson ceased to print in 1528, his later issues being chiefly law books and official documents. Amongst the Exchequer accounts of that year are two payments to him, one of £6, 13s. 4d. for printing eight hundred papers and books "for putting downe of Crossbowes," and the other a sum of £47, 10s. for printing papers "against heresies, and for reformation of Ingrossinge of Fermes." These were two separate proclamations. The first was called a "Proclamation for resysting and withstanding of most dampnable Heresydes, sown within this Realme by the disciples of Luther and other Heretykes," and it gave a list of books prohibited (Steele, 114). The second was called "A proclamation for the secret disclosing to the Lord Chauncellor, the names of such persons as keepe more

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. vi., Part 1, p. 17.

## *Richard Pynson*

Farmes than one, and of such also as make inclosures, contrary to the Comon Wealth of the King's Realme" (Steele, 111).

What happened on Pynson's retirement has never been satisfactorily explained. In all likelihood he sold the business, lock, stock, and barrel, to Robert Redman. Nor has anything yet come to light regarding the personal history of Redman or the earlier business relationship of the two men.

If one may hazard a conjecture, it seems quite likely that Redman was one of Pynson's apprentices who at the expiration of his time set up as a printer of law books in his late master's old shop in St Clement Danes. This annoyed Pynson, as it naturally would, and he said hard things about his rival, calling him "rudeman," and pointing to his inexperience as a printer, derides his claim to be able to print the laws of England correctly. Redman wisely held his peace and in due time reaped his reward. Whether he made the overtures for the transfer of Pynson's business matters little. Evidently some arrangement was come to between them, and although he did not put his address in any of the books he printed prior to Pynson's death, he was in possession of the George in Fleet Street from 1528, and used Pynson's printing material, including one of his devices.

Another side of Pynson's business was that of book-binding. There is no reason to believe that he was a "binder" himself, any more than were Caxton or De Worde,

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

but as we have seen he was sometimes called upon to sell his books "bound and clasped," and he probably employed skilled workmen on the premises or sent the books out to one or other of the numerous binders who were then at work in London. At first, at any rate, he appears to have employed the binders that had worked for Machlinia, and it was by the discovery of his use of the waste sheets from Machlinia's office, to line the boards of his bindings, that his early connection with Machlinia was discovered. This is further borne out by the resemblance of his bindings to those of his predecessor. They erred on the side of simplicity. A few diagonal lines forming diamond-shaped spaces were ornamented with a small die or were left plain. Panel stamps began to be used before the close of the fifteenth century, and a good example of Pynson's panel with his mark is seen on the covers of the *Abridgement of the Statutes* printed by him in 1499. Another panel used by him contained the Tudor rose with a border of foliage and flowers, and vine leaves in the corners; but examples of his bindings are rare.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Pynson died in 1530, his will being proved on the 18th February 1529/30. If he was identical with the student of that name in the University of Paris in 1464 he must have been an old man at the time of his death. Like his rival De Worde, he left no son to succeed to the business,

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *Sanders Lectures*, p. 165.

## *Richard Pynson*

his only son Richard having died a short time before, leaving a daughter, Joan. Apparently his wife also predeceased him, and the only relatives mentioned in the will are his daughter Margaret, married to William Campion, whom he appointed sole executrix, her children, and his granddaughter Joan.

Although he left property in Chancery Lane and Tottenham he was evidently not very rich, as his bequests were small. He mentions two apprentices, John Snowe and Richard Withers, but he makes no mention whatever of Redman nor of John Hawkins, who completed *L'Eclaircissement de la langue Français*. No other stationer is mentioned at all, even as a witness, a somewhat significant fact when coupled with his frequent appearances in the Law Courts.

From the point of view of craftsmanship, Richard Pynson was the best printer that had appeared in England. He had a large and varied stock of type. We do not think for a moment that he was his own type-cutter or founder. He could easily command the best type-cutters on the Continent, and his roman and italic founts were probably obtained from Italy through the same medium.

He showed considerable judgment in the use of these types. His impressions are generally clear and clean, and he was fairly consistent in such minor points as headlines. In the matter of signatures he was somewhat erratic. In some he adopted the usual English method of signing the first three leaves of a sheet, but there are instances, such as

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

the *Sermons* of Michael of Hungary, in which he only signed the first leaf of the octavo sheets. After his return from Rouen he used the Norman method of signature, and from that time forward he used both methods capriciously.

He was not so keen on illustrations as De Worde. For one thing his work was for the most part of a character that did not lend itself to illustration, but most of his books, even the scholastic works, contain one cut, while his law books frequently show a large cut composed of the arms of the City of Westminster or London with the Tudor rose and supporters, with a couple of angels thrown in. But his best illustrated books were such works as the *Canterbury Tales*, the *Chronicles of Froissart*, and *The Kalendar of Shepherds*. While not quite so careless as De Worde, Pynson showed no great artistic taste, and some of his blocks and borders can only be described as ugly. Most of these, we may be sure, came from abroad.

In the matter of initial letters he had some good examples. We have already called attention to the dainty French grotesques used in *The Kalendar of Shepherds*, and one other set deserves notice. This is the alphabet in which the design was cut in white on a black ground. Each letter measures 44 by 44 mm., and one of the best of them is the Q seen in the Galen *De Pulsuum usu*. Pynson also had a smaller set of initials of this character measuring 33 by 33 mm., and differing slightly in the treatment.



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## *Richard Pynson*

During his career he used no less than five devices. The earliest was simply his monogram in white upon a black ground, somewhat resembling that of Le Talleur in Rouen, from whom probably he got the idea.

The next, which came into use about 1494, consisted of his device framed, and above the shield a helmet upon which was a small bird, and below his name on a ribbon. This began to crack in 1496, and was replaced by a third somewhat resembling the previous one, but having the shield supported by a boy and girl, and with figures of the Virgin and a king and queen in the lower corners of the frame. This again is found in two states, and was finally discarded in 1516. Then he sometimes used a large block measuring 148 by 98 mm., evidently a reproduction, on a large scale, of No. 3 with modifications. A stork holding in its beak a branch with fir cones is substituted for the finch. One of the female figures is holding a palm branch, and the printer's monogram is shown black on a white shield.

Finally, he had a small block showing the stork, and with his monogram white on a black shield supported by a man and woman. This was apparently only used in 1518, but was afterwards in Redman's possession.

Pynson also had a large cut of his arms, which he used after he became King's Printer (M'Kerrow, 35).



## CHAPTER VII

### JOHN LETTOU, WILLIAM DE MACHLINIA, AND JULYAN NOTARY

*John Lettou's first type and its origin—Who was John Bulle?—John Lettou's work for William Wilcock—Takes William de Machlinia into partnership—Books printed by them—Machlinia alone, his types and methods—Succeeded by Richard Pynson—Julyan Notary and his partners—Books printed for De Worde—Moves to London—Notable books printed by him to 1520—His work as a bookbinder.*



## CHAPTER VII

**B**EFORE the close of the fifteenth century, five new printers established themselves in London and Westminster. The first of the new-comers, John Lettou, set up a press in London three years after Caxton's settlement at Westminster. His name suggests that he was a native of Lithuania, of which it is an old form,<sup>1</sup> and he is believed to have come to England at the invitation of a mercer of London named William Wilcock, for whom he printed during the year 1480 a scholastic work by Antonius Andreæ entitled *Questiones super XII libros metaphysicæ*. The book was a folio of 106 leaves printed in double columns of 49 lines, with a neat transitional gothic or Black Letter type (83 mm.), containing numerous contractions and abbreviations. This type was clearly of Italian origin, and has been identified as the same as that in use by John Bulle, a printer in Rome, in 1478-9, who, however, stated in his books that he came from Bremen. With regard to this man, the late Mr Duff expressed himself as follows: "If it were possible to arrive at any explanation how a man from Bremen could be described as a Lithuanian, I should at once assume John Lettou and John Bulle to be identical,

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*.

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since one apparently begins where the other leaves off." He had also a few lines previously expressed the opinion that this John Bulle, having an English name, ought to have had some connection with English printing.<sup>1</sup>

Now it is a singular fact that, as we have already mentioned in Chapter I., a certain John Bolle (a manifest variant of Bulle), described as a "wolman" of London, was, in 1484, granted a writ of aid, and his name was coupled with that of John Petit, merchant, who may or may not have been an ancestor or relative of John Petit the bookseller. Further, in the will of John Petit, draper of London, who died in 1558, he appointed as his executors his brother Thomas Petit, the bookseller, and John Bulle.

These references may not be worth anything as regards John Bulle the printer; but they do lend some support to Mr Duff's claim that it was an English name.

To return to Lettou. In the same year that he printed the *Questiones* he also printed three editions of an *Indulgence*, granted by Pope Sixtus IV. These were printed in the same type, and Caxton, who had previously printed the same *Indulgence* in his type 2, was moved, by the neater appearance of those printed by Lettou, to cut a smaller fount (type 4), with which he reprinted it. At the same time he began to use signatures for the first time in 1480, an improvement that he undoubtedly copied from Lettou.

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *The Printers, etc., of Westminster and London*, p. 42.

## *Lettou, Machlinia, and Notary*

In 1481 Lettou undertook another piece of work for William Wilcock, the *Expositiones super Psalmorum* of Thomas Wallensis. In this the same type was used, but was supplemented with a larger fount of gothic for headlines, etc. Whether the two books printed for William Wilcock proved a failure, or whether Wilcock's death put an end to the venture, Lettou did not print any more works of that character, and William Wilcock disappears altogether. He was undoubtedly identical with William Wilcock, draper of London, against whom a foreign stationer named Gerard de Here, and his wife Elizabeth, brought an action in the Court of Chancery, for detaining printed books and manuscripts, which they had entrusted to his care. The documents are undated, but the action was tried before "my lord Cardinal, Archbishop of Caunterbury and Chauncellor of England," which would put it about the year 1515. (Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 207, No. 92.)

John Lettou is next found in partnership with William de Machlinia, a native of Mechlin in Belgium. During 1482 and a part of 1483, Lettou and Machlinia printed an edition of Sir Thomas Littleton's *Tenores Nouelli*, the *Abbreuiamentum Statutorum*, and *Year Books* for three of the years of Henry VI. This change in the character of the work was evidently due to the new partner, who realised that there was an opening for a printer with a knowledge of law French. These five books were printed in two new

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founts of type, an unevenly cast Black Letter with numerous contractions and joined letters, and a larger fount for the opening words of divisions, these founts being clearly modelled on the law hand of the period. None of these books bore any date, neither had they any title-pages, and the work became slovenly. Only one of them bore any kind of address, the *Tenures* having an imprint, "Juxta ecclesiam omnium sanctorum," but as there was more than one church in London called All Saints', it was not of much help in identifying the position of the printing house.

After printing these five books, the partnership was dissolved and John Lettou ceased to print, and nothing more is known about him. William de Machlinia continued printing alone from some time in 1483 until 1490. During this period two addresses are found in his books, some having the colophon "near Fleet Bridge," while the *Year Book* of 37 Henry VI. is stated to have been printed "by me William Maclyn in Holborn." As none of his books were dated, it is only by the sequence of the types that their order can be determined. He continued to use Lettou's larger type in his law books; but he also introduced two other founts of Black Letter, one of which is seen at its best in the *Liber Aggregationis seu de secretis Naturæ* of Albertus Magnus, and the other in the *Revelation of St Nicholas*. Although both were the same in height, *i.e.* 100 mm. to twenty lines, they are totally distinct in appear-

## *Lettou, Machlinia, and Notary*

ance, one having a Flemish face resembling the early Caxtons, while the other is a much more compact letter, evidently of French origin.

Eight books are found in the Flete Bridge types, the two mentioned above, another edition of Littleton's *Tenures*, the *Nova Statuta*, and the *Promise of Matrimony*, an edition of the *Vulgaria Terentii*, another work of Albertus Magnus called *Secreta mulierum*, and a small Sarum *Horæ*.

The most interesting of these typographically is the *Horæ*, which is only known from fragments which have been found in bindings. These show that some pages were surrounded with a woodcut border of flowers and foliage. This border is afterwards found in use by Pynson, and is one of the proofs that he succeeded to Machlinia's business. Another book of this group, *The Revelation of St Nicholas*, contains a glaring example of wrong imposition. The "Holborn" books were also printed in two founts of type which go back to a Flemish source and closely resemble types used by Veldener at Utrecht and Jean Brito at Bruges. Fourteen books are known printed with these types. One of them, the *Speculum Christiani*, a quarto, he printed for Henry Frankenberg, a bookseller in St Clement Danes, who had been importing books into England for several years.

Another of the issues of Machlinia at this time was the *Festum visitationis beate Marie virginis*, two leaves from

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

which were found as part of the lining to the binding of Pynson's *Dives and Pauper*, further evidence that Pynson used the waste from Machlinia's office.

Three of these later books of Machlinia's furnish evidence of dates. The *Statutes* of the first year of King Richard III. must have been printed after 25th June 1484, that being the last day of the regnal year. Again, the *Regulæ et ordinationes* of Pope Innocent VIII. were certainly not printed until the end of 1484. Finally, the Bull of the same Pope confirming the marriage of King Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, when it was reissued in 1494, bore the date 27th March 1486, so that it was not printed by Machlinia until later in the year.

As a printer Machlinia was much inferior to Lettou. Not only was he careless about dates, but in the matter of signatures his books were unlike those of the majority of printers, some having them and many being without.

Nothing more is heard of Machlinia after 1486; but very shortly after this, Richard Pynson secured the waste from his office and continued the printing of law books. The relations of the two men, and the printing of *The Sege of Rhodes*, have already been discussed in dealing with Pynson's history.

During the year 1496 there appeared a grammatical work by the great scholar Albertus Magnus, entitled *De modis significandi*. The book was a quarto of sixty leaves,

## *Lettou, Machlinia, and Notary*

printed in a fount of Black Letter (92 mm.), which in many respects bore a close family likeness to those in use by Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson at that date.

Beyond the statement that it was printed at London at St Thomas the Apostle, which may have meant either a sign or a church, it bore no printer's name, but on the verso of the last leaf there was a curious device. From the centre of a circle intersected by a cross-bar rose a merchant's mark of the familiar type ending at the top with a reversed 4. In the two upper sections of the circle appeared the initials I.N. and I.B., while in the bottom half of the circle were the initials I.H.

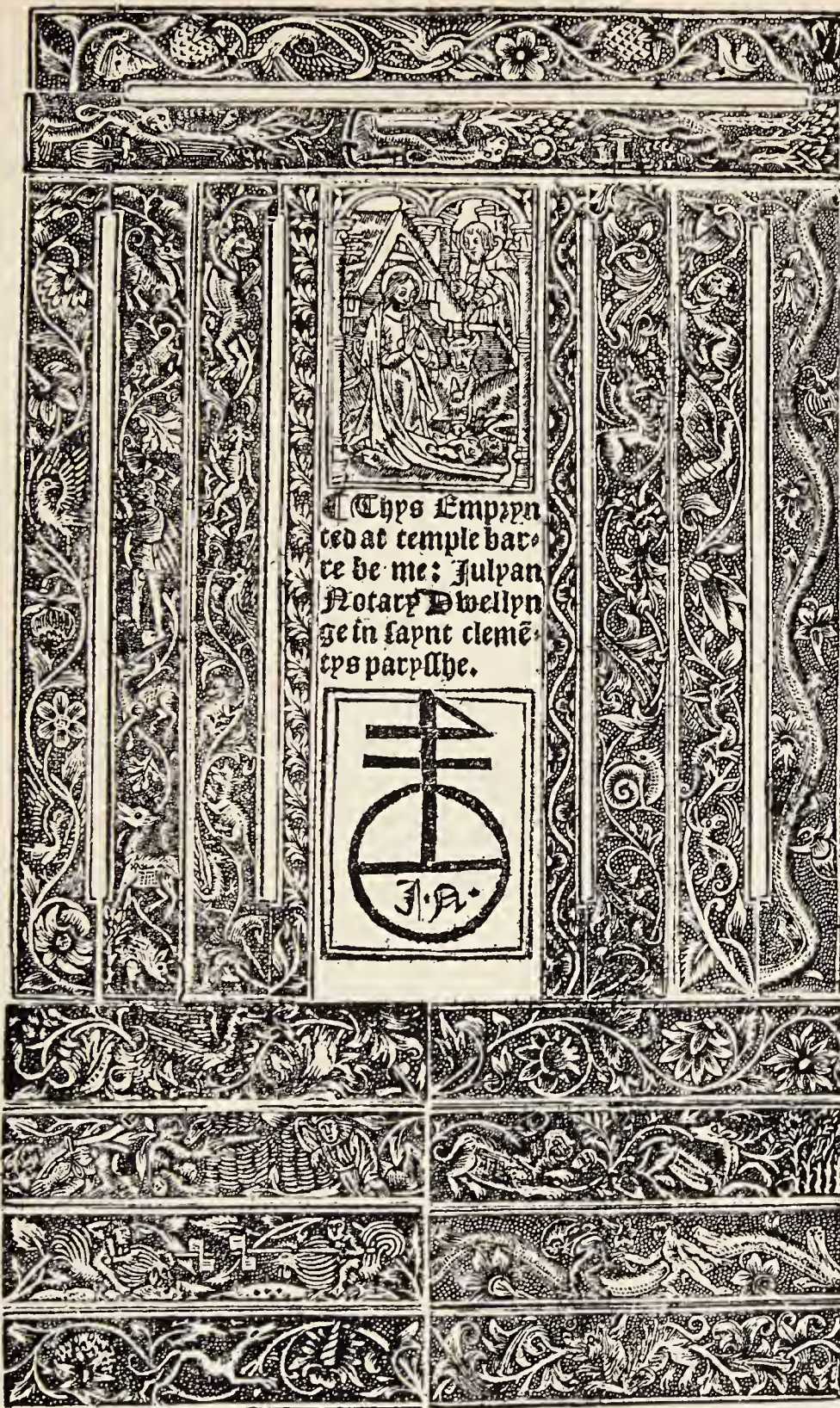
These initials stood for Julyan Notary, John Barbier or Barbour, and it is believed Jean Huvin, a printer of Rouen. Nothing whatever is known about the antecedents of Julyan Notary, but there is little doubt that he was a Frenchman. Not only did he bring with him woodcut border pieces that were unquestionably of French origin, but he also used some very quaint initials that came from the printing office of André Bocard of Paris.

Jean Barbier was a Frenchified name adopted by John Barbour, a native of Coventry, who in a lawsuit on the De Banco Roll for Easter, 16 Hen. VII. (*i.e.* 1501), brought by a certain "Ham. Warnekes" on a plea of debt, was described as "Johannem Barbour nuper de Coventre bere-brewer, alias Johannem Barbier nuper de Coventre prenter."

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Inquiries prove that there was a family of Barbour in Coventry, and that several of its members were brewers by trade.

In making out writs or conveyances, law-writers have to be very particular in their descriptions of persons, and they certainly would not have described Barbour as a "brewer" unless they had reliable evidence that he was connected with that trade. He may have been described in the Freeman's Rolls of the city as a "brewer" who took up his freedom by patrimony, that is as the son of his father who carried on that business. Had he been in any way connected with France, the law-writers would most probably have mentioned it. Not only so, but the identity is clinched by the statement that the Coventry man was also known as "John Barbier, prenter." What probably happened was, that John Barbour, preferring "printing" to "brewing," had been sent, or had of his own free will gone, to Paris, and was possibly in Bocard's office when Julyan Notary acquired those remarkable initials, and consented to share his venture in London. In Paris his English name would naturally come to the lips of a Frenchman as Barbier. This led to his being confused with Jean Barbier, a printer in Paris between 1502 and 1516; but the French archives show that Barbier's family name was Passet, and that he came of a well-known French family. Further, Barbour had dissolved partnership with Notary in 1499, but was





## *Lettou, Machlinia, and Notary*

evidently living in Coventry in 1501, and it is, we believe, a mere coincidence that the first mention of the French printer Jean Barbier seems to fit on to the last mention of John Barbour or Berbier the printer in England.

The three partners followed up the issue of the *Questiones* with an edition of the *Horæ ad usum Sarum*. Only a few leaves of this still exist, but fortunately one of them contains the colophon, which not only reveals for the first time the owners of the mysterious initials, but also supplies the information that the book was printed for Wynkyn de Worde. The type was the same as that used in the previous book, and Mr Updike, the modern authority on printing types, lays some stress on "the French elegance in type-setting" noticeable in these books, but we must confess our inability to see any superiority in this respect over the work of De Worde or Pynson.

The Sarum *Horæ* was followed in 1498 by a Sarum *Missale*, also at the expense of Wynkyn de Worde. But in the interval I.H., whoever he may have been, dropped out of the partnership, and his initials were cut out of the device. The printing office had also been moved from the City to King Street, Westminster, clearly for the purpose of being closer to Wynkyn de Worde, by whom there is little doubt that it was kept going.

A curious point about the *Missale* is that in the signa-

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

tures the letter "s" was duplicated and "U" and "V" were both used, a most unusual feature.

The departure of J. H. was followed within a twelve-month by that of John Barbour or Barbier, and the two next books, the *Liber Festivalis* and the *Quattuor Sermones*, both printed in 1499, have all the initials cut from the device and the name "Julianus Notarii" printed in the lower section of the circle (M'Kerrow, 82). There was probably also a commission from De Worde, who had previously issued several editions. Pynson had also printed an edition in the previous July. As both these books were dated the 2nd January 1499, *i.e.* (<sup>1499</sup>/<sub>1500</sub>), they rightly belong to 1500, in which year he also printed a miniature *Horæ ad usum Sarum*, which measured no more than one inch and a quarter in height by an inch in width. One other book was printed by Notary in King Street, Westminster, a poem of Chaucer's, called the *Love and Complaintes between Mars and Venus*, a copy of which was until lately in the Britwell Library, but is probably now on the other side of the Atlantic.

Some time after this Notary moved eastward again, settling in what was formerly Pynson's house in St Clement's Parish, outside Temple Bar, to which he gave the sign of the "Three Kings." The exact date of his settlement there is not known, but it is supposed to have been between 1502 and 1503. During the next twenty years he carried on the

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combined trades of a printer, bookseller, and bookbinder. He became less dependent on Wynkyn de Worde, and his books were more varied and interesting. In 1504 he printed two large folios, both of them reprints of books previously issued by Caxton. The first was the *Golden Legend*, which, he tells us in the colophon, was finished at "Tempell barr the xvi day of Feverer. The yere of oure lorde a Thousand ccccciii. And in the xix yere of the reygne of kynge Henry the VII." The nineteenth year of that king's reign began on the 22nd August 1503 and ended on the 21st August 1504, so that the 16th of February 1503 was what we should call 1504. The book, which was well printed, contained a miscellaneous assortment of illustrations, some of which had come from the "Red Pale," having first belonged to Caxton and afterwards to De Worde, who got rid of them when he moved into Fleet Street. The colophon was surrounded with a number of narrow border pieces and one small cut arranged to make a frame. These were of French origin and had clearly been used as borders to some *Book of Hours*. As these cuts have already been fully described in *English Printers' Ornaments* there is no need to describe them here. In addition five cuts are found in this book, which were copies of some made by a German engraver, who was known as the "Master of St Erasmus," between the years 1450 and 1460. It is believed that Notary's were imitations of "criblée" prints copied from the original

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designs, several sets of which are known, one being in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

Notary also put in hand and published during the year 1504 another edition of the *Chronicles of England* in folio. As the original work had no title-page, he placed on the recto of the first leaf the five blocks above referred to, and as a border used fifteen of the narrow cuts previously used as a border to the *Legenda Aurea*, or, to be strictly correct, eleven of those previously used and four entirely different ones, but of the same character and from the same source.

Both these books, printed in a clear fount of Black Letter in double columns, were good examples of the printer's skill; but the *Golden Legend* also contains a remarkable printer's blunder. De Worde had reprinted Caxton's text in 1498, but in setting up the colophon, the compositor left out the line "so this legende exceedeth all other books," and the mistake was not discovered by Notary, who evidently reprinted the work from De Worde's edition. In these books are also seen the curious initials that he had obtained from André Bocard.

During the next five years Notary printed nothing that was of much interest as literature, most of his output consisting of service-books and *Year Books*, but two of them call for notice on other grounds.

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London*, p. 142.

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The *Year Book* of the 12th Henry VII., which he printed in 1507, contained his third device, this being a much more elaborate affair than anything he had previously used. In the first place it was larger, measuring five and a half inches in height by three and a quarter inches in width. The design consisted of a shield on which was emblazoned his merchant's mark with the initials I.N. in the bottom section. This shield was surmounted by a helmet from which issued conventional foliage and flowers forming a border. Below the shield was the printer's name, and this central design was suspended from the branch of a tree in which sat a bird, and flanked by two fabulous animals. This border also contained flowers, birds, butterflies, and tree, and the design was finished off with the letters I.N. on a ribbon at the top. The centre panel of this device was afterwards cut away and used alone (M'Kerrow, 26 and 28).

The other book was one of the many editions of *Nicodemus Gospel*, in which there appeared three more of the curious metal cuts seen in the *Legenda*. Only one copy of Notary's edition is known, and that was discovered in Archbishop Marsh's Library in Dublin.<sup>1</sup>

During the years 1510 Notary opened another shop in St Paul's Churchyard, which he also called the Three Kings. The two addresses are found together on the title-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

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page of John Herolt's *Sermones Discipuli*, where it is stated that the book was for sale and had been printed at the sign of the Three Kings without Temple Bar, and was also on sale in St Paul's Churchyard at his little shop there, with the same sign.

A year or two later he appears to have given up the tenancy of the premises in St Clement's parish and to have moved his press or presses to the Three Kings in St Paul's Churchyard, for the next book he printed with a date, another edition of the *Chronicles of England*, has the following colophon:—

“Enprynted at Londō in powlys chyrche yarde, at the West dore of powlys besyde my Lorde of London's palays by me Iulyan Notary. In the yere of oure lorde god M.CCCCC.XV.”

This, it will be noticed, does not mention his sign, but there is no doubt that it was printed at the Three Kings, which in a later colophon is stated to have been at the west door, beside the Bishop of London's palace. But in 1516 he printed two of Whittington's grammatical works, and the colophons to those stated that Notary was living against St Paul's “under the sign of St Mark.” Again, two years later, in the colophon to his *Life of St Barbara*, he was back once more at the sign of the Three Kings.

These variations in Notary's address have proved a sore trouble to most bibliographers. Several writers have adopted

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the theory that the signs of "St Mark" and the "Three Kings" indicated the same house in St Paul's Churchyard. As he had already in 1510 given the little shop he then took the sign of the Three Kings, what object could he have had in altering it to the sign of St Mark and back again to the Three Kings? We think that the house bearing the sign of St Mark was altogether a different place, to which he moved for a year or two, possibly whilst structural alterations were being carried out at the Three Kings.

The most interesting of Notary's undated books was an edition of the *Shepherd's Kalendar*:

Something has already been said about the extraordinary character of the contents of this book, under the notices of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson: but the typographical history of the *Shepherd's Kalendar* is very puzzling. In all three editions the same woodcuts are found. Some of these undoubtedly belonged in the first instance to Pynson, who either obtained the originals from the Paris publisher Verard, or copied them very closely. Both De Worde and Notary must have come to some arrangement with Pynson in order to obtain these blocks, and we suggest that Pynson, having no intention of reprinting the work himself, sold them to De Worde, who in his turn lent or sold them to Notary. Other cuts seen in this book were rough copies made by De Worde from those in Pynson's edition. The grotesque face initials were either copied or borrowed from

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

De Worde; but in addition to these Notary used the larger initials that he had obtained from Bocard, and also many of the small border pieces seen in the *Golden Legend* and the *Chronicles of England*.

There is also a small block of a Tudor rose with the letter "M" in the centre, seen in the margin of signature B2, and elsewhere throughout the book. Professor H. O. Somner called attention to this block, in a letter to the *Academy*, dated 30th Dec. 1890, and again in his elaborate study of the book: but no explanation of it has ever been forthcoming. The Tudor rose certainly suggests an English origin, and if it was one of Pynson's blocks the M might stand for Cardinal Morton, for whom he printed the *Sarum Missal* in 1500, or for Margaret, the mother of King Henry VII., for whom also he printed several books; but until some one runs it to earth in some other book, its presence in Notary's *Shepherd's Kalendar* must remain a mystery.

Again, amongst the rarities in the lately dispersed Britwell Library were two little tracts printed by Notary. One of these, entitled *A mery gest and a true, how Johan Splynter made his testament*, related in verse the adventures of John Splynter, a rent-gatherer of Schiedam. The other, probably of the same character, was called *The mery gest of a Sergeant and Frere*.

The last dated books that came from his press were the

## *Lettou, Machlinia, and Notary*

*Life of St Erasmus*, the *Parliament of Devils*, and the *Life of St Anthony*, issued in 1520.

These were all in quarto, and the *Life of St Erasmus* is only known from a copy in the British Museum.

Although he appears to have ceased printing in that year, he was still living in St Paul's Churchyard, in St Faith's parish, in 1524, when his name is found on the Subsidy Roll, wherein he was described as a "boke-seller," and his assessment was £36, 6s. 8d.

It remains to notice Notary's bindings. Examples of his work as a binder may be seen on the covers of two books in the British Museum. The first is a copy of the *Opuscula* of Beroaldus, printed without date, but about 1510 (C 46, c 25), and the second a copy of Erasmus' *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, printed at Basle in 1526. The stamps found on both are the same; on one side a Tudor rose surrounded by two ribbons, one of which bears the motto: "Hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno," and the other: "Eternum florens regia septra fenet."

Below the rose and between the ribbons is Julyan Notary's merchant's mark, and outside this his initials, I. N., are repeated. Angels on either side act as supporters.

At the top of the design are the arms of St George and those of the City of London, the latter perhaps included because Notary was then resident within the walls, and as a background the sun, moon, and stars are introduced again,

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

possibly in allusion to his connection with De Worde, in whose devices these heavenly bodies are always present.

The other board was stamped with the Royal Arms, supported by the griffin and greyhound. There are also two shields, and the sun, moon, and stars are repeated. If this book was bound on its arrival in England, it points to Notary being at work two years later than the date of the Subsidy Roll.

Another of Notary's bindings is preserved in the University of Cambridge, amongst the books bequeathed to the library by Mr Sanders. This is a copy of the 1508 edition of the *Scala Perfectionis* (E. G. Duff, *Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London*, p. 143).

## CHAPTER VIII

W. AND R. FAQUES, ROBERT COPLAND, AND JOHN AND  
W. RASTELL

*Large number of De Worde's contemporaries—Men who overlap—List of printers between 1501 and 1535—W. Faques, his first proclamation—The Psalter and the Statutes—Undated books—Device—R. Faques—His early work—Frequent alteration of name—His device—Robert Copland's shop in Fleet Street in 1514—Boke of Justice of Peace—Frequent references to Copland as book printer—His translations—John Rastell—Birthplace—Studies the law—Removes to London—In France in 1512—Sets up as printer in London—His first works—Embarks on a voyage of discovery which fails—Removal of his printing-house—Later work as a printer—His love of plays and acting—His later life and death—William Copland begins by helping his father—Sets up for himself—His work described—Gives up printing in 1535.*



## CHAPTER VIII

**H**ITHERTO we have been dealing with such of Wynkyn de Worde's contemporaries as were established in business soon after he succeeded to the Red Pale, and who shared with him such trade as there was in England before 1501.

We have now to deal with those who came after him, some of whom may have been his apprentices, and many of whom were largely indebted to him for work during his long life, and the number of these was considerable. Two or three occupy a unique position. Robert Copland, for example, is first met with as a kind of editor in De Worde's office before the close of the fifteenth century; but he did not begin work as a printer until 1515, and he outlived De Worde by twelve years.

Thomas Berthelet is another. He began business at the Lucrece, nine years before De Worde's death, and is known to have printed several books for his neighbour at the "Sun," though his life work extended to the days of Edward VI., and therefore the bulk of it lies beyond our horizon. Then there is John Byddell, for whom De Worde printed several books shortly before his death, and whom he appointed one of his executors, but who did no printing on his own account until he was established in De Worde's

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premises, and therefore can only be called a contemporary for a year or two. A few others, such as Lawrence Andrewe, John Butler, and Thomas Godfray, are little more than names.

In order that the student may the better see what is in front of him, the following list of printers, other than those already noticed, who were at work between 1501 and 1535, has been drawn up:—

- 1504-9, W. Faques.
- 1509-30, R. Faques.
- 1515-35, R. Copland.
- 1516-34, John and William Rastell.
- 1518-35, Henry Pepwell.
- 1521-35, J. Skot.
- 1522-32, P. Treveris.
- 1523-35, R. Banckes.
- 1523-35, R. Redman.
- 1526-35, Thos. Berthelet.
- 1527, L. Andrews.
- 1527, J. Butler.
- 1531-34, J. Toy.
- 1531-35, R. Wyer.
- 1532, T. Godfray.

The present chapter will deal with the work of W. and R. Faques, the final portion of the life of Robert Copland, and the work of John and W. Rastell.



dei gracia Rex  
Hybernie. Vic.  
Precipimus vo  
q statim post rec  
singulis locis u  
infra libertates  
diens videritis  
pclamationes f

W. FAQUES' HEADING TO PROCLAMATION ON COINAGE. 1505



## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

William Faques will not detain us long, as very little is known about him. He was a Norman by birth, and Ames stated that he was trained in the office of a Rouen printer, John le Bourgeois; but he did not give his authority, and the statement must be received with doubt. He succeeded Peter Actors, the King's Stationer, and spoke of himself as King's Printer, but no official grant of the office has been found.

In 1504 he printed a proclamation on the currency. The only known copy of this is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries; but a facsimile was made of it in 1897 for the British Museum. Even in that facsimile the beauty of the document is manifest, and no writer on early English printing has ever conveyed an adequate description of it. It measures 398 mm. by 28 mm. At the head is the single word "Henricus," the H being a magnificent script letter, undoubtedly of French workmanship and measuring no less than 149 mm. × 82 mm. It is a splendid example of ornamental calligraphy, and ranks with those wonderful "L's" found in some of the publications of Verard. It has two finials, the one representing a winged dragon, and the other, a smaller one, a bird's head. The rest of the word is cut in Black Letter, each letter being 26 mm. in height on a block 95 mm. long, and the ink with which this and the initial were printed must have been of exceptional brilliancy, as even in the facsimile its blackness is vivid.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

But it is not merely the beauty of the initial that strikes one. It was placed to the best advantage, the block containing the rest of the word being on a line with the lower half of the H, while the remainder of the title, in great primer Black, filled up the space between the bottom of the block and the foot of the letter. The text of the proclamation was printed in a smaller fount of Black Letter (98 mm.), with an initial T of an ecclesiastical character. Down the left side of the sheet are four border pieces, the pattern being the same in each, a kind of trellis-work, white on a black ground, which was very effective. In the right margin are representations of six different coins.

The colophon, if it can be so called, ran: "Apud westmonasterium quinto die Julio Anno regni nostri Decimonono. Regius Impressor Within seynt Elens Guillam."

This proclamation alone would show that William Faques was an artist in typography, more so than any printer that had yet been seen in England.

Some time before April 1505 he printed another proclamation on the same subject in the same types, but with the addition of two blocks and border pieces on two sides. The only known copy of this is in the University Library at Cambridge (Steele, 51). Two other dated issues of that year were a Latin *Psalter*, and the *Statutes* of the nineteenth year of Henry VII., in folio.

The *Psalter* was an octavo, and has rightly been de-

## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

scribed as "one of the most beautiful books issued from the Early English press."<sup>1</sup> The type with which it was printed was a large, well-cut, English Black Letter, red ink was used effectively, and each page was enclosed in a chain border.

The *Statutes* were printed in the same type for the text, and a great primer for the headlines and divisions. The word *Statuta* on the title-page is preceded by an initial S measuring 93 mm. in height, with a finial carried across the rest of the work, and ending in a stork's head. This again was eminently French. On the back of the title-page is a full-page block of the Royal Arms crowned, the Tudor rose above it, and two figures holding scrolls with mottoes. The colophon states that the book was printed "within St Helens be Guillam Faques ye Kyng Prynter."

In addition to these, four undated books have been traced to the press of William Faques. Two of these were school-books, the *Accedence* and the *Donatus Minor*, of which only a few fragments have survived, the first being at Lambeth, and the second in a private library. The other two works were small octavos, one the homily of Origen, *De beata maria Magdalena*, and the other an edition of *Vulgaria Terentii*. The homily was printed in two founts of small Black Letter (70 mm. and 66 mm.), distinguishable from each other by the lower-case "h." The colophon only

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, Sanders Lectures, 1906, p. 160.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

conveys the information that the work was printed in the city of London, "in abchirche lane."

William Faques' device was both artistic and original. It took the form of two triangles intersected, with his initials transfixd with an arrow, which, it has been suggested, may be a punning allusion to his name.

Nothing is known as to William Faques' subsequent history; but he probably died in 1508, in which year Richard Pynson succeeded him as King's Printer. His business passed to Richard Faques, who was doubtless a relation, and who is found at the sign of the Maiden's Head in St Paul's Churchyard in 1509. In that year he printed Gulielmus de Saliceto's *Salus corporis, salus anime*, with the types and chain ornament of his predecessor. In 1511, in conjunction with Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Faques issued an edition of the Sarum *Missal*, which was printed for them in Paris by Raoul Cousturier. In 1519 he is met with as plaintiff in an action in the King's Bench against several persons for debt, but as no particulars are given, it is impossible to say whether this had reference to his business as a printer (P. R. O. De Banco Roll, 1025 m. 16, verso, last entry). Two undated books, an edition of the *Liber Festivalis*, now at Lambeth, and *A booke of the pylgrymage of man*, only known from a copy at Queen's College, Oxford, are ascribed to this period.

The next dated book was the Sarum *Horæ* of 1521,

## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

which he had commissioned J. Bignon of Paris to print for him, and from the colophon we learn that he had moved from the Maiden's Head to the A B C in St Paul's Churchyard. At the same time he had tried to convert his name into English by cutting out the "ques," and substituting "kes."

In 1523 he printed Skelton's *Goodly Garland* in quarto, in three founts of Black Letter, a fount of roman, and a great primer for the titles; and the title-page, which has a block intended to represent the poet, was no doubt the work of an English wood-engraver. This was surrounded by a neat border in which is seen a printer's ornament formed from the heraldic tincture "ermine."

Richard Faques' last dated book is believed to have been the *Myrrour of Our Ladye*, a devotional work issued at the expense of the Lady Abbess of Syon Monastery, and dated 1530. A portion of this book only, the third part, relating to masses, is in the British Museum. It was printed in Black Letter (114 mm.), with large double pica for the opening words of each section, and roman type for quotations. A copy of the complete work is in the John Rylands Library, and contains many curious woodcuts and initial letters.

To Richard Faques belongs the credit of printing the earliest extant ballad, *The Ballad of the Scottish King*, whilst amongst his undated works was an astronomical tract, *De cursione lunæ*, printed for Robert Wyer, a printer at

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Charing Cross, who supplied the blocks with which it was illustrated, and very possibly the type. These undated books can be assigned to certain periods, by noting the various alterations in the spelling of the printer's name, which, beginning as Fax, was first changed to Faques in 1511, then became Fakes in 1521, Faukes in 1523, and finally Fawkes in 1530.

Richard Faques' device was a copy, with alterations, of that of Theilman Kerver, the printer of Paris. The design is a shield hanging from a large arrow stuck upright in the ground. On the shield are the printer's initials, R. F., with a maiden's head, representative of the sign of his house, in the lower part. This shield has as supporters two unicorns. At the back are trees, flowers, and conventional foliage, with an unmistakable letter D on the left-hand side of the arrow. Whether this was the initial of the engraver and was on the original block copied by Faques, it is impossible to say. There is no clue to it in Silvestre's *Marques Typographiques*. It is possible that there may have been another letter on the right-hand side of the arrow. At the bottom of the block on a ribbon is Richard Faques' name in full.

Some of his ornaments have already been referred to in *English Printers' Ornaments*, one being a small block representing the heraldic tincture "ermine," which seems to have been a favourite with Continental printers, and to have been copied by those in England.

## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

Richard Faques is believed to have died in 1538, and to have left a widow Amelyne, who was living in 1544.<sup>1</sup>

There was also a Michael Fawkes, who makes a meteoric appearance in the years 1534 and 1535 in connection with two books, *A devoute treatyse called the tree and twelve frutes of the holy goost*, and *The Consolatarie of timorous and fearfull consciencys*, a work by a writer named William Bonde. The first of these he printed in conjunction with Robert Copland, to whom we must next turn our attention.

As already noted, Robert Copland was mainly employed down to 1512 in translating books for the press of Wynkyn de Worde. For this task he was eminently fitted both by inclination and education. Nothing is known as to his parentage or early history. It is quite possible that he may have served an apprenticeship at the Red Pale. Caxton was the man to surround himself with literary people, and Copland was not only a man of good education, but also had something more than a smattering of French literature, and was skilful in turning a verse, although his "poetry" was somewhat heavy. Where he was living when he is first met with is unknown; but in 1514 he rented a shop in Fleet Street, to which he gave the sign of the Rose Garland, and where he carried on the trade of a bookseller.

An edition of the *Modus tenendi curiam Baronum*, a much-used law book, containing Copland's device, was

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, Sanders Lectures, 1906, p. 172.

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printed by De Worde at the Sun in that year. This consisted of his merchant's mark on a shield, round which is a garland of roses. The shield hangs from a tree and has as supporters a stag and a hind. Below this is his name in full on a border of four pieces carrying the motto: "Melius est nomen bonum, quam diuitie multe" (M'Kerrow, 35). This again was copied from the device of one of the French printers.

Another publication of the year 1514 in which Copland evidently had a share was a treatise entitled *The Dying Creature*. The colophon states that it was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, but on the back of the same leaf is seen Copland's device, and very likely the book was printed for him to sell at the Rose Garland.

It is not until 1515 that Robert Copland appears to have set up a printing press, and his first work was an edition of another law book that was in great demand, the *Boke of Justices of Peace*. The only two known copies are in the Bodleian Library, and that of the University of Cambridge. It is rather singular that a gap of seven years separates this from the next dated book of Copland's, and it must be received with some caution. The *Boke of Justices of Peace* is usually found bound with other law tracts, and there is at least one instance of a set, all said to have been printed by John Waley, but as a matter of fact he had no printing press, and the word "by" should read "for." The

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colophon of Copland's edition shows that it was printed at the "Sunne," which probably means that it was printed by De Worde for Copland.

On the other hand there is no doubt that Copland's press was subsidised by De Worde, while he continued to supply introductions and epilogues in verse, in his new character of "book-printer." Thus in 1518, Henry Pepwell, a printer at the sign of the Trinity in St Paul's Churchyard, issued an edition of William Nevile's *Castle of Pleasure*. It commences with a poem headed, "Copland the prynter to the author." If Copland had printed the book for Pepwell we could understand his reference to himself as the printer; but if the book was printed by Pepwell, as stated in the colophon, then the only conclusion is that it was a reprint of an edition printed by Copland, either on his own behalf or for Wynkyn de Worde. The poem begins with the author's words, "Emprynt this boke Coplande at my request." If he had taken his manuscript to De Worde's office in Fleet Street or to Pepwell's in St Paul's Churchyard, why should he have appealed to Copland to print it?

In 1521 appeared an edition of the *Mirroure of the Churche*, which is only known to us from the edition bearing Wynkyn de Worde's colophon. Again we find Copland named as "the prynter" in the opening verses, and both Herbert and Dibbin gave it a place amongst the issues of Robert Copland's press. In that year he certainly

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printed a folio edition of Alexander Barclay's *Introductory to write French*, to which was added "The maner of dauncynge of Case dau[n]ces after the use of France and other places, translated out of Frenshe into englysshe by Robert Copland."

Then comes a gap of seven years before we meet with another dated book from his press. During that time, it has been generally supposed that it was not idle, but it was wholly occupied in printing books for De Worde and others. This may possibly be so, but it is surmise only. We are inclined to think that several of the interesting items afterwards reprinted by William Copland were first printed about this time, notably a quaint and amusing skit on social life, entitled *The seven sorowes that women have when their husbendes be dead*. In the metrical prologue to this, Robert Copland presents us with a vivid picture of the literary tastes of the time, and the woes of authors and printers. As a very full description of this prologue was given in the first volume of *Bibliographica*, and again in a paper read before the Bibliographical Society of London on 15th June 1896, and printed in the third volume of its *Transactions*, there is no need to repeat the passages again.

During the last years of De Worde's life, Copland translated from the French two metrical pamphlets on marriage, *The Complaynt of them that be too soon married*, and *The Complaynt of them that be too late married*. After De

## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

Worde's death, nothing apparently came from Copland's press until 1548, when he printed Andrew Borde's *Introduction of knowledge*, in which the author stated that Robert Copland was "the eldest printer in England," by which he may have meant either the eldest in point of years, or in his trade of a printer.

There is evidence of his printing both for Richard Banckes and Robert Wyer in these later years, and during the same time he produced two works which stamp him as a keen observer of human nature. As a picture of London life his *Hye way to the Spittle House* may rank with Lydgate's *London Lackpenny*, and his *Jyll of Brentford*, though of coarser texture, was quite on a par with the *Jest of the Wydow Edyth*, which had taken the town by storm. The date of Copland's death is unknown, but is generally assumed to have been 1549. In his love of all things English he ranks with Caxton, and of all the early English printers, is one of the most interesting.

John Rastell,<sup>1</sup> who next passes across the stage, played many parts, and his life, which began brilliantly, ended in prison.

The Rastell family belonged to Coventry, where John's grandfather had filled the office of Warden in 1443. His father, Thomas Rastell, was on the Commission of the Peace

<sup>1</sup> For the chief facts in the lives of John and William Rastell, I am indebted to the papers of Mr A. W. Reed, who has kindly allowed me to use them.

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for the County of Warwick, and with Sir Thomas Littleton, the author and compiler of many legal works, was of the Quorum, that is, that their presence was necessary to constitute a bench of magistrates.

John Rastell is believed to have been born in 1475, and was admitted to the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1489. In his younger days he must often have been a witness to, if not an actor in, the pageants and miracle plays for which that Guild was renowned.

He afterwards came to London and studied law at the Middle Temple, and so soon as his Term was up he returned to Coventry and was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of John More and sister of Sir Thomas More, before 1504. He continued to live in Coventry for several years, and took an active share in the life of the city, holding the post of Coroner for a time. It has been suggested that he may have devised the pageant of "the nine hierarchies of angels" that was shown to King Henry VIII. and his Queen when they visited Coventry in 1510.

Shortly after this John Rastell left Coventry and came to London, where he entered the service of Sir Henry Belknap, brother-in-law of Henry Smith of Coventry and a Privy Councillor. In 1512 he went with Sir Henry to France, and while he was abroad his interest in printing was stirred, and like Caxton and Pynson he appears to have gained some knowledge of the printing craft and to have



"GOODLY GARLAND." R. FAQUES. 1523



## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

bought a fount of small secretary type, such as was used by the printers of Rouen, and this he brought with him on his return to England. His first printing-house was on the south side of St Paul's Cathedral, and there he printed the *Liber Assisarum*, a small folio. The book has no date, but contains a list of the Justices of the Peace in the fifth year of King Henry VIII. (*i.e.* 1513-14), and from a reference in the Prologue to the *Great Abridgement of the Statutes*, as then in the press, the printing of the *Liber Assisarum* is usually assigned to 1514. The type used was that which he had obtained abroad, a Lettre Batarde (93 mm.) with a gothic of the same size for marginalia, and a larger fount of gothic for head-lines and sections. The contents embraced the whole of the Crown Pleas for the reign of Edward III. On the title-page is seen his curious device, utterly unlike any other used either in England or abroad, and probably of his own devising. It is apparently meant to represent the world, with a merman and mermaid rising from a river. Above this is the Godhead and heavenly bodies, with the Royal Arms of England and France, and the Prince of Wales's feathers on a shield.

Below the large block is a smaller one with his initials on a white ground, and the motto "Justicia Regat." Round the whole are four narrow border pieces of a miscellaneous character, which he had very likely obtained when he bought the type.

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About this time Rastell leased a house in Monken Hadley and spent a good deal of money in making it habitable. It was not far distant from Sir John More's manor house of Gobions at North Mimms.

During the year 1516 the three splendid volumes of the *Great Abridgement* were finished and published. The compiler of this work was Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, another Coventry man, and no doubt it was planned whilst Rastell was still living there.

When one remembers that printing in those days was a laborious process, and that the three parts of this work filled nearly eight hundred large folios, or nearly sixteen hundred pages of fifty-seven long lines to a page, some faint idea of the magnitude of this undertaking can be conceived. Evidently John Rastell must have been a man of capital, and he must also have had some idea as to those of the legal profession who were likely to take copies. In any case for a beginner it was a wonderful venture. It was printed in the same types as the *Liber Assisarum*, with the brief colophon on the recto of sig. Dd 6 of the third volume: "Finis tocius istius opis finit, xxi die Decembr A<sup>o</sup> dñi Millecimo quigētesimo sextodecimo." The printer's name nowhere appears in it; but it is universally admitted to be a product of John Rastell's press.

The only adornments the work had was a large wood-cut of a king on his throne on the first leaf of the first part,

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a large woodcut of the Royal Arms surrounded by four narrow border pieces, one of which is easily recognised as formerly used by Caxton in the *Fifteen Oes*, and possibly obtained from De Worde's stock when he moved to Fleet Street.

In the third volume the block of the Royal Arms is used again but without any border pieces, and a smaller version of the arms on the last leaf.

Some six months after the publication of the *Great Abridgement*, John Rastell applied for and obtained a royal grant to make a voyage of discovery to the New World. A ship was chartered and freighted, and joined a fleet supposed to be making the voyage under the command of Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Spert. But the whole thing turned out a gigantic swindle. Rastell and his friends got no farther than Waterford. There by a prearranged plot the captain and crew mutinied and refused to go any farther, leaving Rastell to get back to England as best he could. He afterwards referred to this incident in his Interlude of "The Four Elements." He was evidently back in London in 1517, as in that year he compiled and printed a Table or Index to the *Great Abridgement*, the colophon of which runs, "Tabula libri magni abbreviamenti librorū legum anglorum finit felicit impress: Londini impensis et industria Johannes Rastell Anno dñi M.CCCCC. xvij die Februarii." As in a legal book we may suppose the

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printer to have used the legal date, this book was published on the 17th day of February 1517-18.

John Rastell is next met with in the spring of 1520 in connection with the decoration of the Great Hall at Guisnes on the occasion of the royal meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold; but it is not quite clear whether he was merely paid to arrange the hangings or to devise the dramatic entertainments. On his return to England he moved his printing-house from the south side of Paul's to the Mermaid next Paul's Gate in Cheapside. Like most of Rastell's affairs his tenancy of that house became the subject of a lawsuit, and the depositions of the witnesses revealed some interesting particulars concerning Rastell and other well-known stationers of that time. In the first place it appeared that Rastell was in the habit of closing his printing-house for long periods and living in the country, his house then being in Finsbury Fields. Sometimes he left some of his workmen there, who admitted that they printed books on his instructions; but what they were was not revealed. Again, he sometimes let off part of the premises to other stationers, and amongst those who had occupied them at one time or another were William Bonham and John Gough, both booksellers. During the years 1527 and 1528 he printed several other law books, or rather it would be perhaps nearer the mark to say that his son William, who was then helping his father, printed them for him.

## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

What is believed to be John Rastell's last dated book was one that he had written himself, in defence of the Roman Catholic religion, entitled the *New Boke of Purgatory*. But several of his undated publications are traceable to this time. *The merry jests of the widow Edith* was written by a member of Sir Thomas More's household, and in extenuation of its coarseness, it must be remembered that the tastes of the sixteenth century must not be measured by our own. It was one of the most popular books of the age. Another work of somewhat the same character was the *Hundred mery tales*, which is said to have furnished Shakespeare with some of his plots.

A further study of the social life of the time was provided by Rastell in his *Pastime of People*, which was illustrated with some curious and badly drawn woodcuts.

In addition to these Rastell printed a number of interludes. He was always partial to dramatic entertainments, and amongst his many lawsuits was one in which he sued a stage carpenter named Walton for the recovery of certain players' garments that had been made for the characters in a pageant called *The Father of Heaven*, which Rastell had written for the entertainment of the French Ambassadors in 1527. An interesting point that came out in the evidence was that John Redman, stationer, the son of Robert, stated that he had worn the dresses several times.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

The later years of John Rastell's life were tragic. His *Book of Purgatory* had been answered by John Frith so convincingly that Rastell became a convert to the Protestant religion. This lost him both friends and business. In 1536 he wrote a pathetic letter to Thomas Cromwell, saying that for several years he had been compiling books opposing the Pope, and his ruin had resulted. Where he had been in the habit of printing two or three hundred reams of paper a year, he was not then printing one hundred, while his legal income had dropped to nothing.

Shortly after this he was thrown into prison for some reason that is not very clear, and he died a prisoner before the end of the year. He made his will on the 20th April 1536. In it he nominated the King one of his executors, and left Cromwell five marks "for his good counsel." To his wife he left the house in St Martin's parish that he had made over to her on her marriage. To his son William he left only 40s., whilst to his other son John he left an annuity that had been bequeathed to him by his grandmother.

William Rastell was born in the year 1508. At the age of seventeen he was working under his father in legal practice, and later on helped him in his printing business at the Mermaid.

In 1529 he began printing on his own account at a house in St Bride's Churchyard, Fleet Street. Although he gave up printing five years later, he printed no less than

## *Faques, Copland, and Rastell*

thirty works during that time. These may be divided into legal treatises, controversial works, and plays and interludes. His first work appears to have been *The Supplication of Souls*, for his uncle Sir Thomas More. This was printed in a good fount of secretary type. His second book was *Cæsar's Commentaries*, a text and translation of parts of the Fourth and Fifth Books, dealing with Cæsar's invasion of Britain. In this the Latin text was printed in small neat roman, and the translation in the same type as the *Supplication*. Two other books are believed to have come from his press about this time, Cicero's *De Amitia* and Henry Medwall's *Interlude of Nature*. In 1531 he printed in folio, *Registrum omnium brevium*, the title of which is enclosed in a substantial arch on columns with his initials W. R. on the basis. This was the only thing in the nature of a device found in any of his books.

In the same year he reissued Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue of Images* and Barlow's *Dialogue on the Lutheran factions*.

During the year 1533 he was chiefly occupied in printing the writings of Sir Thomas More, the second part of his *Confutation of Tyndale's answer*, the *Debellation of Salem and Bizance*, and his *Letter against J. Frith*. Other publications of that year were Fabian's *Chronicle* and several of John Heywood's plays; *The Pardoner and the Friar*, *The Play of Love*, *The Play of the Weather*,

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

as well as a political work called *Prester John*, written by Sir Thomas More's son John.

William Rastell dated his New Year from Christmas or 1st January, which in the case of More's *Answer to Tyndale* led to his appearance before Cromwell. Mr Reed, in his paper on William Rastell, offers a curious explanation of this. He also points out that the *Play of Love*, bearing the date 1534, was printed before the edition dated 1533.

William Rastell ceased to print in 1534, and devoted himself for the remainder of his life to the study of the law and the preparation of his life of Sir Thomas More.

## CHAPTER IX

HENRY PEPWELL, JOHN SKOT, ETC.

*Henry Pepwell, 1518-34; John Skot, 1521-37; Richard Banckes, 1523-34; Lawrence Andrewe, 1527; Peter Treveris, 1521-32; Robert Redman, 1530-34; John Butler, 1529; John Hawkins, 1530; Thomas Berthelet, 1528-34; Robert Wyer, 1524-34.*



## CHAPTER IX

ONE of the overseers appointed by Wynkyn de Worde in his will was Henry Pepwell, who since the year 1518 had been in business as a printer, at the sign of the Trinity in St Paul's Churchyard. The previous tenants of that house had been Henry Jacobi and Joyce Pelgrim, who were booksellers and not printers. They used a somewhat remarkable device embodying the Trinity, their block passing into Pepwell's hands when he took over the premises. The only thing known about Pepwell, before he makes his appearance as a printer, is that he was a native of Birmingham. He was a friend of Stokeslye, the Bishop of London, and was also a man of position in the Company of Stationers, being elected Warden in the year 1525. His first dated book was *The Castle of Pleasure*, a quarto which has the colophon: "Here endeth the castell of pleasure Enprynted in poules churchyarde at the sygne of the Trynyte by me Hary Pepwell in the yere of our lorde M.cccc.XVIII." This book has already been noticed in speaking of Robert Copland, and we may pass on to the rest of his work. Between this date and the year 1523, Pepwell printed eight books, two of which are only known from fragments, and in four instances only single copies survive. One of the fragments consists of the last

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

leaf of a translation by Erasmus of Dean Colet's *Institution of a Christian Man* into Latin verse. The colophon of this reads: "Explicit Christiani hominis Institutum. Impressum Londōn per Henrici Pepwell in cimiterio diui Pauli sub intersignis sancte Trinitatis cōmorātē. Anno dñi. M.ccccc.XX."

Another of his issues believed to belong to that year was an edition of a clerical tract entitled *Exoneratorium Curatorum*. Wynkyn de Worde had printed two editions without date that are very similar in appearance to Pepwell's.

In 1521 he printed Christine de Pisa's *Cyte of Ladyes*, a work dealing with the lives of famous women, and written as a protest against what the author called the generally received opinion, that all women were evil. The book was printed in a type of Black Letter, believed to have been newly cast from matrices belonging to Pynson.<sup>1</sup> On the title-page is a woodcut showing two women and part of the "Citye." On the verso is another and a much better cut of the interior of some ecclesiastical building, probably a nunnery, in which the mother superior is seen seated at a desk with a book before her and several other books on a desk and in a recess beside her. Her attention is distracted by three other women, one of whom carries what is apparently a looking-glass or mirror, and another a jug or

<sup>1</sup> *The Booksellers at the sign of the Trinity*, by E. G. Duff, *Bibliographica*, vol. i. pp. 175 *et seq.*

(1) his herte: there is noo god / This vnwyle man is euery  
wretchyd man that lpueth & loueth syne. and chesyth þ  
loue of this worlde as rest of his soule: he sayth there is

(2) *Inde diligenter in corde suo et delectata est eo in  
sermone suo. Quātūz diligit personā tuā que  
sic diligit vocem tuam. Quam desiderat vide*

(3) **P**oeta Skelton anſweryth.



Ueſtionles no dowte of that ye ſay  
Iupiter hym ſelfe this lyfe myght endure  
This ioy exceedith all wordly ſport & play  
Paradyce / this place is of ſingular pleaſure

(4) Ladyes and maydens they loued Joſeph all  
And men dyde blyſſe hym whan they dyde ſe  
So goodly a chylde carued in the hall

of huſbandrye **Folio.ii.**

(5) woode made of oke / that is ſet faſt in a moztays in the  
ploughe beame / & alſo into the ſwarbeme / the whyche

(6) **L**inacri ad p̄ceptores p̄rie & pueros  
Primum hec que patria libuit conſcribere lingua  
Haud quāq̄ inuitus plegito Angle puer

*(as the phyloſoph̄er proueth by naturall reaſon) 'Bz  
no deyr bodyes: no moze is yt Chyſtes deyr bo-  
dye, as they wolde make the ſylene in the bredc in*

(7) **N**ow 'good reders to thende that  
you may ſe the cuſtumable maner of  
maſter Maſkar in reherſynge my  
I wote well that many good folke  
haue bled in this mater many good  
frutefull examples of goddes other

(8) eſtabliſhed wyll / whom no power is able to with  
ſtāde. Oueſt thou promiſeſt thy people by þ mou-  
thes of thy prophetes / for the helth of mākynde /

SPECIMEN OF TYPES IN USE BY (1) JULIAN NOTARY, (2, 3) W. AND R. FAQUES,

(4) J. SKOT, (5) P. TREVERIS, (6, 7) J. AND W. RASTELL, AND

(8) T. BERTHELET. 1501-1535



## *Pepwell*

pot with a cover. This cut is introduced at the beginning of each of the three books into which the work is divided. A set of artistic initials, which were probably cut specially for it, are a feature of this book, which also contains the grotesque face initials associated with De Worde's press, and in addition to these a good eight-line initial H, with the head of a king, possibly Henry VII. or Henry VIII. The letter T of the same alphabet, but more worn, is on the verso of c<sub>3</sub>. The little tract known as the *Dietary of Ghostly Health*, printed in the same year, was also in this type, as were all the eight books printed before 1523.

Between 1531 and his death in 1539, several of W. Lily's grammatical works in octavo and in roman type came from Pepwell's press. From their resemblance to books printed at Antwerp at that time, it seems possible that he obtained the type and ornaments found in them from thence, as he is known to have had dealings with Michael Hillenæus, who printed for him in the year 1531 John Eckius' *Enchiridion locorum cōmuniū aduersus Lutheranos*, which John Bale the Reformer declared was printed at the request of Bishop Stokeslye. The only copy known is in the Westminster Abbey Library. Another book said to have been printed at Antwerp for Pepwell was a school-book compiled by Dean Colet for the use of his boys in Paul's school, and called *Paules Accidence*. The only known copy of this has no colophon, but the typo-

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

graphical likeness to the grammars known to have been printed by him has led to its being ascribed to Pepwell.

Wynkyn de Worde at his death left Pepwell a bequest of £4 in printed books. Pepwell outlived him by five years, and amongst the incidents of his later life the State Papers show that in 1539 he was sent by Cromwell to St Albans to make inquiries about a heretical book that had been printed by John Herford.

These early printers are all of them more or less shadowy, and we welcome anything that clothes them with human interest. Amongst the uncalendared Chancery Proceedings at the Record Office is a Bill of Complaint brought by Henry Pepwell against a tanner of Shrewsbury. Pepwell had bought a dun gelding of him, giving him a white ambling horse and ten shillings in money as payment. The dun gelding was soon afterwards claimed by Master Gostwick, my Lord Cardinal's servant, and the unfortunate printer had been unable to recover from the tanner either his horse or his money.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Pepwell died early in 1541, his will being proved on the 8th February. None of his children were mentioned in it by name. One of them is believed to have been Arthur Pepwell, who was a somewhat unruly member of the Company of Stationers, who died in January 1568-9, leaving two sons, Henry and Humphrey.

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., E., Chan. Proc. uncalendared, B 556.

## *Pepwell and Skot*

Henry Pepwell's earliest device was that previously in the hands of Henry Jacobi, from which the name of Jacobi was cut out (M'Kerrow, 34 B). In 1531 he had a larger one cut, still embodying the emblem of the Trinity, but having as supporters two angels. Below is his name, and to the left his merchant's mark (M'Kerrow, 52). In addition to these he used an oblong block with his name on a ribbon, the initials H. P. above it, and his mark in the centre (M'Kerrow, 47), and also a border piece of the same design as one in De Worde's possession but with a different shaped shield in the centre with his merchant's mark (M'Kerrow, 48). This is found in the hands of P. Treveris in 1521.

John Skot, the next of De Worde's contemporaries to be considered, is found living in St Sepulchre's parish in 1521. On the 17th May in that year he issued another of Christine de Pisan's works called *The Body of Polycye*, the only two known copies of which are in the University Library at Cambridge and the John Rylands Library, that in the University being printed on vellum. The only other book bearing that date was an edition of *The Justices of Peace*. In 1522 he printed for Wynkyn de Worde a translation made by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII., from Dionysius Carthusianus, called *The Myrrour of Golde for the Synfull soule*. As the book is printed with Skot's type, a narrow Black Letter, and as

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

some of the copies have his name in the colophon, it was probably a joint speculation.

Three undated books are found with the St Sepulchre's address, one a law book called *Carta feodi simplicis*, another a Biblical story called *Jacob and his twelve sons*, and a work of a miscellaneous character entitled *The Book of Maid Emlyn*.

Skot is next found in "Poule's Churchyarde" in 1528, where he printed the *Commendations of Matrimonie* and an edition of *Nicodemus Gospel* in 1529, as well as half a dozen undated books, the most interesting of which was an edition of the morality play of *Every Man*.

Another book printed by him at this time, though it does not bear his name but only his mark, was the *Gradus comparationum*. The publisher was John Toy.

Skot was mixed up with the Maid of Kent fraud. He put to print a book of which no copy now remains. Cranmer noted that Dr Bokking had five hundred of them when they were printed and the printer two hundred (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. vi. p. 648).

Skot's next move was to Fauster Lane, St Leonard's parish, where he printed, amongst other things, the ballad called *The Nut Browne Maid*, the only dated book with that address being a small *Rosary*, dated 1537.

One other address is found in an undated edition of Stanbridge's *Accidence*, which he printed "Without

## *Skot and Banckes*

Bishopsgate in St Botolphs parish at George Alley Gate."

It will be remembered that in the *Seven Sorrows* Robert Copland referred somewhat contemptuously to this printer in the words:

"And from all nacyons, if that it be thy lot,  
Lest thou be hurt, medle not with a Scot."

John Skot is not to be confused with the printer of the same name who was working at Edinburgh in 1539.

Skot's earliest device was an elaborate affair. On a shield are his initials and printer's mark supported by two winged and indescribable birds. Below the shield is his name on a ribbon. Above it is a helmet and above that a stork's nest. About 1530 he erased his mark from the shield and substituted his monogram.

Whilst living in Paul's Churchyard he began to use another device copied from that of Denis Roce the printer at Paris, in which both his name and monogram are printed in reverse. In addition to these he used two or three narrow blocks, similar to those in use by Wynkyn de Worde and Pepwell (M'Kerrow, 51, 54, 59, 75, 76).

Richard Banckes is first met with at the Long Shop in the Poultry which stood six doors from the Stocks, and near St Mildred's Church. Nothing is known of his previous history. He is returned in the Subsidy Roll of 1523 as a bookbinder, and in the same year he printed

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

a curious tract called *The IX Drunkards*. It was a translation from the Dutch, and was illustrated with some foreign-looking woodcuts and borders.

The romance of *Sir Eglamoure* was another of his publications. This is only known from a fragment of four leaves that were in the possession of the late F. Jenkinson. It was one of the earliest London editions. Altogether Banckes printed five dated books between 1523 and 1526, including two issues of a Herbal. Nothing more is heard of him as a printer for thirteen years, but in the interval Robert Copland printed for him in 1528 the earliest English work on Navigation, *The Great Rutter of the Sea*. The remainder of his work lies outside the scope of this volume, as his activities continued until 1546.

His device was a representation of his merchant's mark, supported by two animals. At the top is the head of St John, and at the foot a snail (M'Kerrow, 66).

Lawrence Andrewe plays but a small part in this history. His native place was Calais; but somewhere round about the year 1520, later rather than earlier, he was in Antwerp, translating books out of Dutch into English, for J. van Doesborgh, the printer. None of these have any dates; but one of the earliest is believed to have been *The Wonderful Shape and Nature of Man*. Another was *The Valuation of Gold and Silver*.<sup>1</sup> He then came over to

<sup>1</sup> R. Proctor, *J. van Doesborgh*, p. 8.

## Andrewe

England, and the first thing he did on his arrival was to borrow £5 in money and twenty pounds' worth of printing material from John Rastell, who seems to have known something of the family, and who was perhaps the more ready to part with his money and goods at the instigation of Mestres Andrewe. This lady was Prioress of Stamford, and is said to have been "aunt" or "mother" to Lawrence. She it was no doubt who represented him at a meeting of booksellers and printers summoned by the Bishop of London, on the 25th October 1526.<sup>1</sup>

With the type thus obtained Lawrence Andrewe printed, in the year 1527, two editions of a medical work called the *Vertuose boke of Distyllacyon*, which he had translated from the work of H. Braunschweig. They were printed on successive days, the 17th and 18th April, yet differ materially from each other, and no explanation has ever been found to account for this. The remainder of his work, so far as it has survived, is undated. It included a reprint of Caxton's *Mirrore of the Worlde* in folio, and is remarkable for its illustrations. Another of his publications was *The debate and stryfe betwene Somer and Winter*, which he printed for Robert Wyer, the printer and bookseller at Charing Cross, who was apparently the publisher, as the colophon stated that copies were to be had at his shop.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Reed, "The Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538." *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, vol. xv. p. 170.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Andrewe would appear to have been in England in 1529; but meanwhile Rastell had begun an action for the recovery of his money or his type, whereupon Andrewe fled abroad, leaving his "aunt" or "mother," the Prioress of Stamford, to meet Rastell's action.<sup>1</sup>

Lawrence Andrewe had only one device, which took the form of a merchant's mark, but he also had some initial letters cut, in which it is also found.<sup>2</sup> Those letters appear to have passed into the hands of Peter Treveris or Peter of Treves, whose first dated book, the *Syntaxis* of R. Whittington, was printed in 1521. Nothing is known of his antecedents, but Herbert suggested that he was a native of Triers in Germany. His printing-house was somewhere in Southwark, and he adopted for his sign the "Wodows," meaning the wood-house. One of his earliest works was the *Opusculum Insolubilium*, which was to be sold at Oxford "apud J. T," these initials probably standing for John Dorne or Thorne, in whose accounts the work frequently occurs. The value of this work may be gathered from the fact that only one copy is known to exist, that in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1525 Treveris printed in folio *The Handy work of Surgery*, a translation from the Dutch physician H. Braunschweig, in all probability made by Lawrence Andrewe, who, as we have

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Reed, "The Regulation of the Book Trade," etc.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Duff, *Century* article, "Andrew."

## Treveris

already seen, translated the same writer's *Distyllacyon*. The *Handy work* contained many anatomical illustrations, and also the initials A and I, showing Andrewe's mark.

He followed this up in the following year with another folio, the *Grete Herball*. This was also freely illustrated with roughly cut blocks of the various plants as well as with a miscellaneous collection of other cuts, notably one from an edition of *Aesop's Fables*.

But the glory of his press was undoubtedly the edition of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, which he printed for John Reynes, the bookseller, in 1527. This was also a folio printed with the same type as the earlier volumes, a gothic or Black Letter, in double columns, with headlines and foliation. The title-page of this volume has often been reproduced, most recently in some copies of *English Printers' Ornaments*. At the top of the page is an oblong block with a crown above it. The block is divided into three compartments, that on the left containing the Royal Arms. The centre medallion is a portrait of a man, possibly the king or perhaps that of John Reynes. The right-hand medallion contains the arms of the City of London, printed in red ink. Below this is the title, the single word *Polychronicon*, cut in wood and printed in red ink. Below this is a large, ornate, and very well cut block of St George and the Dragon, various parts of which, such as the knight's shield and the dragon's tongue, are touched

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

up with red. The bottom part of the frame was cut to allow the insertion of a block showing John Reynes' initials and mark, also printed in red ink. Preceding the fifth book is a very spirited cut of a battle between French and English, which, so far as we know, has never been reproduced. A few small blocks of knights in armour are inserted here and there throughout the volume, and some very good initials are met with in it, also some very poor ones. The colophon runs thus:—

“Imprinted in Southwerke by my Peter Treueris at y<sup>e</sup> expenses of John Reynes boke seller at the sygne of saynt George in Poules churchyarde The yere of our lorde god M.CCCCC. and xxvij the xvj daye of Maye.”

This is surrounded by a one-piece border, one of a set, believed to have been obtained from Froben of Basle. On the verso of the last page the blocks used on the title-page were repeated, but without the use of red ink.

The bulk of Treveris's work consisted of editions of Stanbridge and Whittington's scholastic works, some of which were possibly printed for Wynkyn de Worde, whose border pieces are frequently met with in them. Amongst his octavos was *The secunde dyalogue i englysshe wyth new addycons*, a law book in considerable demand, the first part of which had been printed for Robert Wyer. As the type in which this was printed closely resembles that of Wyer, it is very possible that it was printed by Treveris on his behalf.

## *Treveris and Redman*

This may be said to be his last dated book, as the *Sermons* of Bishop Fisher, printed in 1532, though they were published by him, came from the press of William Rastell.

Treveris used only one device, which was a copy of that of Philippe Pigouchet, printer at Paris (Silvestre, 71). From a tree is suspended a shield with the initials T. P. This is supported by two semi-human creatures known as woodwoses, which were supposed to live in the woods. Below is the name "Petrus Treveris" on a scroll. In large books this device was generally surrounded with small border pieces.

Something has already been said about Robert Redman in the chapters dealing with Pynson; and little more remains to be told. His activities were chiefly directed to the printing of law books, which to the lay mind have little interest, and typographically rarely have much to recommend them. This is particularly the case with regard to Robert Redman's issues. He used the types and devices of his predecessor until they were worn out. His work was slovenly and full of mistakes. In 1532 he printed for Leonard Coxe *The Arte and Crafte of Rhetoryke*, and in the same year is said to have been a partner with Francis Regnault and John Reynes in the publication of a Sarum *Graduale*, which was printed for them by Nicolas Prevost in Paris, and the only known copy of which is in the

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Bodleian.<sup>1</sup> Redman was a bookseller as well as printer, and in 1533 he got into trouble for selling *The division of the Spirituality and the Temporality*, for which Thomas Berthelet held the King's Privilege.

Redman died in 1540, and his will was proved on the 4th November. He left a son John, who as a young man took part in various dramatic entertainments and subsequently became a printer. Redman's widow Elizabeth afterwards married Ralph Cholmondeley.

An edition of Rastell's *Expositiones terminorum legum Anglorum* was published in 1527, and has been ascribed to the press of John Butler, who was one of Wynkyn de Worde's apprentices. In 1529 he printed an edition of Stanbridge's *Parvulorum institutio*, the only known copy of which is in Peterborough Cathedral. This contains a cut from a *Horæ* representing St John the Evangelist in reference to his printing office, which was the sign of St John Evangelist in Fleet Street. This is the only work of his bearing a date, but he printed several other books, most of them grammars, notably a romance called *The Jeast of Sir Gawayne*, of which a fragment is at Lambeth.

Another man only known from one book was John Hawkins, who finished the printing of Palsgrave's *L'Esclaircissement de la langue Français*, which was passing through the press when Pynson died. Hawkins was possibly an

<sup>1</sup> Hand-lists of English Printers, 1501-56. Bibliographical Society, 1913.

## *Godfray and Berthelet*

assistant of Pynson's, but he is not mentioned in the printer's will, and nothing whatever is known of him.

Before dealing with the two most important men of this group, Thomas Berthelet and Robert Wyer, we may briefly notice Thomas Godfray, who appears above the horizon just as De Worde's days were ending. He printed quite a large number of books; but all but one have no date, and were obviously printed after 1534. The dated work was a folio edition of the works of Chaucer, edited by William Thynne and printed in 1532. His printing material ultimately passed into the hands of Thomas Berthelet.

The life and work of Thomas Berthelet might well form a volume in themselves. In the present work we have only to deal with the earlier portion of his career; but its importance may be gathered from the fact that of the fifteen different founts of type found in his books, seven belong to the period with which we are concerned, and of thirteen borders, seven are found in use before 1534.

Amongst the printers of the sixteenth century Berthelet stands in the same rank with Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, John Day, and Reginald Wolfe, and in many respects he excelled them all.

Not only was he a printer who took pride in his work, but he was also one of the finest bookbinders that this country had ever seen.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Of his early history little is known. He was a Welshman and owned property in the county of Hereford. He is believed to have been one of Pynson's apprentices and to have been identical with a certain Thomas Bercula or Berclæus, who prefixed an address to the reader to Pynson's edition of Whittington's *Vulgaria* in 1520. There is no absolute confirmation of this: on the other hand, it has not yet been disproved.

According to an entry in the marriage licences of the Bishop of London, Berthelet married a widow named Agnes Langwyth, on 23rd August 1524, and his first dated book appeared in 1528, when he was settled as a printer at the sign of the Lucrece in Fleet Street. At the outset of his career he appears to have done work for other printers, as we have already seen that he was brought before the ecclesiastical court in 1528 for printing Erasmus's book on the *Pater-noster*, the types and blocks in which were undoubtedly those of Wynkyn de Worde.

Berthelet's first book is said to have been Thomas Paynell's translation of a medical work called *Regimen sanitatis Salerni*, which was printed with a fount of Black Letter of English body.<sup>1</sup>

In 1530, on the death of Pynson, Berthelet was appointed his successor as King's Printer by royal grant,

<sup>1</sup> "Notes on the Types, Borders, etc., used by Thomas Berthelet." By W. W. Greg. *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. viii. pp. 187 *et seq.*

## Berthelet

with a salary of four pounds a year. From this time he styled himself King's Printer in his colophons, so that books that have not this statement may be safely said to have been printed before 1530. Under this grant he printed all Acts of Parliament, statutes, proclamations, injunctions, and other official documents. A valuable table of the various editions of the Statutes of Henry VIII., printed by Berthelet, in the British Museum Library, was drawn up by the late Robert Proctor and printed in the fifth volume of the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions* (pp. 255 *et seq.*). Under the head of official publications of the year 1530 must be included the tract entitled: *The determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent Vniuersities of Italy and France that it is so unlesfull for a man to marie his brothers wyfe that the Pope hath no power to dispense therewith.* This was the outcome of the King's divorce of Queen Katharine, and was printed in Latin as well as English.

Berthelet's second type was a Black Letter of gothic character (54 mm.), and was first used in the *Articuli ad Narrationes* and Littleton's *Tenures*, both of which were printed in 1530.

The third type, a large Roman (114 mm.), also made its first appearance in that year in the Latin version of the *Determinations* already referred to.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Notes, etc.*, p. 192.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

The year 1531 saw the publication of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governour*, an octavo, printed with his fifth type, a gothic of pica body (87 mm.), in double columns, a very handsome fount. In 1532 he purchased a new fount of this type of the same size; but having the lower-case "h" finished with a bold outward curve, absent in the earlier fount. The lower-case "w" is wider in this than in the other. Dr Greg very truly describes this as "one of the finest types ever used in England." The first books printed with this were the *Year Books*, 20-28 Edw. III., printed in November 1532, and another book in which it is seen to even greater advantage is the *De Immensa Dei Misericordia*, printed in 1533. Another fine book of the year 1532 was the folio edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. The title of this was enclosed in what is called a window-frame border (220 × 138 mm.), reproduced in *English Printers' Ornaments* (Borders, 17), which he appears to have obtained from Geoffrey Tory of Paris.

Amongst the many books of the year 1534 may be noticed St Cyprian's *Sermon of Mortality*, translated by Sir Thomas Elyot, a second edition of that writer's *Boke named the Governor*, Fox's *De vera differentia*, and Gardiner's *De vera obedientia*. In Fox's book is seen type no. 7, a roman described by Dr Greg as between great primer and English. The well-known architectural border with the date, 1534, cut in the bottom panel, was brought into use

## *Berthelet and Wyer*

by the printer in that year. It continued to be used unaltered until 1560, and has been the source of a great deal of error in dating his later work.

Berthelet's bindings are amongst the earliest tooled bindings produced in England. He is believed to have employed Italian workmen, and many of his bindings were worked in the Venetian manners. Others are described as bound in "crimosyn satyne," in "black velvet," or in "purple velvet written abowte with golde."<sup>1</sup> Several of his accounts for printing and binding have been reprinted in Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers* (ii. 50-60).

Berthelet's device was one of the most artistic of any found before the time of John Day. It was a metal block with the figure of Lucretia Borgia. The pose of the figure, the draperies, and the background point to the work of a skilful foreign engraver (M'Kerrow, 80).

We must now pass to the work of Robert Wyer, the printer at the sign of St John the Evangelist at Charing Cross. There is reason to believe that he came of a Buckinghamshire family. Nothing is known as to his apprenticeship, and although his first dated book was not printed until 1530, evidence has come to light showing that he was at work, both as printer and bookseller, at least six years before. In the first place, in the Subsidy Roll of the year

<sup>1</sup> W. H. J. Weale, *Bookbindings*, Part I. p. xxvi.

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1524, he is entered as a printer with goods worth £4.<sup>1</sup> Again, on the 7th September 1527, he was summoned before the Vicar-General for printing a work entitled *Symbolum Apostolicum*. He surrendered twenty-nine of his copies, and was ordered to appear before the Bishop to hear his sentence: but his punishment is not recorded.<sup>2</sup> Before 1535 he was carrying on business in premises that formed part of the rentals of Norwich House, which stood somewhere near the present Villiers Street.

Just as Berthelet may be described as the printer for the aristocracy, so Wyer may be described as the printer for the populace. It is true that he printed a few year-books, but the bulk of his work consisted of small octavos on popular subjects, such as books on medicine, astronomy, prognostications. *The Assize of Bread*, books on folklore and fortune-telling, all this with a certain leaven of religious works, such as St Bernard's *Golden Pystle*, Thomas à Kempis' *Folowyng of Chryste*, Erasmus' *Epistle on the Sacrament*, and Walter Hylton's *Medled Lyfe*.

Of upwards of one hundred books that have been traced to his press, only about half a dozen bear any date.

It is obvious, then, that other means have to be adopted

<sup>1</sup> P. R. O. Lay Subsidy.

<sup>2</sup> Paper read by A. W. Reed, 18th Nov. 1918, before the Bibliographical Society.

## Wyer

in the classification of these books. Fortunately circumstances have provided the bibliographer with some assistance. Wyer used a variety of forms of address in the colophons of his books. The commonest was, "at the sygne of saynt John Euangelyst, in saynt Martyns parysshe, besyde Charynge Crosse."

The two most notable were,—“at the sygne of seynt Johan euangelyst, in seynt Martyns parysshe in the felde besyde Charynge Crosse, in the bysshop of Norwytche Rentes,” and, “at the sygne of saynte Johan Euangelyst in saynt Martyns Parysshe in the Duke of Suffolkes rentes besyde Charynge Crosse.”

Wyer's premises then were situated in the vicinity of the town house or palace of the Bishops of Norwich, in the Strand, and formed part of the rentals. In 1536 this house was surrendered to Henry VIII. in exchange for lands in Norfolk, and shortly afterwards the King gave it to Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk, who died in 1545.

Consequently all the books with the Norwich colophon, whether dated or not, were clearly printed before 1536, while those that mention the Duke of Suffolke's rents were certainly not printed before 1556. There is also another useful test. In his first dated book, the *Golden Pystle* of St Bernard, printed in "the bysshop of Norwytche rentes," in 1531, he spelt his name WYRE instead WYER,

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and the same thing occurs in the *Year Book* of the 9th Henry IV., which, although undated, was printed in "Norwytche Renthes."

There is also in the Bodleian a copy of Thomas Moulton's *Myrrour or Glasse of Helthe*, printed by Wyer with the "Norwich" colophon, and his name spelt WYRE. So that where the printer's name is found spelt in that way in a book that has no other identification marks, it may almost certainly be placed before 1536.

Wyer's earliest type was a gros-batarde or secretary, with the lower-case "d," "i," and "w" looped. This he appears to have retained for many years, after trimming off the loops to those letters. Amongst the books with the "Norwich" colophon, but otherwise undated, is an octavo edition of Erasmus' *Exhortation to the diligent study of scripture* (Plomer, 9).

This was printed throughout in a beautiful type of Black Letter, and is one of the best examples of Wyer's work. It may have been printed before 1534, but it is impossible to say with certainty when this type began to be used. Many of the books that have only the Charing Cross address may have been printed before De Worde's death, but on this point also nothing definite can be said.

Wyer had a curious assortment of initial letters, but their history is a matter of speculation. One was a set

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with grotesque faces, similar to those in use by Wynkyn de Worde and other printers of that period. He also had several decorative roman letters, white on a black background, two of the best being the C, showing the Christian knight, and the L with a dancing figure. But these again are found in the hands of others, notably Siberch of Cambridge, but whether they were copies the one from the other, or passed from hand to hand, it is impossible to say. One of the bibliographical works for which the world is waiting is a good history of the woodcut and other initials of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The illustrations found in Wyer's books were very poor, and were for the most part the cast-off blocks from other offices. One set particularly are recognised, either as old blocks from Pynson's or De Worde's shops or bad imitations of them. Their history alone would be worth following up. Pynson either bought them or copied them from Antoine Verard and used them in the *Shepherd's Kalendar* and other works. Then they turn up in the hands of Wynkyn de Worde, and were used in his *Hyckescorner*, and some of them or copies of them are found in the hands of Wyer, and do duty for a variety of characters.

On the whole, Robert Wyer's press is one of the most interesting of all those that were at work during De Worde's lifetime. His device, which is found in three

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varieties, shows St John on the island of Patmos, with an eagle holding his inkhorn, and below the name "Robert Wyre." In the second state the name is spelt "Wyer," and in the third the eagle and other details are omitted (M'Kerrow, 67, 68, 69, and 70).

## CHAPTER X

### PROVINCIAL AND SCOTTISH PRESSES

*Oxford, second press, John Scolar and Charles Kyrforth—  
Cambridge, first press, John Siberch, printer and book-  
binder—York, Gerard Freez, alias Wandsforth, Hugo  
Goes, Ursyn Mylner—St Albans, John Herford—Tavi-  
stock, Thomas Richards—Abingdon, John Scolar—Scot-  
land, Chepman and Miller's press.*



## CHAPTER X

ONE of the first results of the Act of 1484, permitting the importation of foreign printed books into England and the settlement of foreign printers and booksellers in this country, was to squeeze out of existence the first press set up in Oxford. In spite of Theodoric Rood's boast that England was selling books to other countries, and that therefore the Venetians might cease from sending books over here, he was unable to produce scholastic books, either as quickly, cheaply, or as well printed, as the foreign printer. His press closed down finally in 1486, and nothing more was heard of printing in Oxford until 1517.<sup>1</sup>

The printer who then set up a press was named John Scolar, about whose antecedents nothing whatever is known before the publication of W. Burley's *Super libros posteriorum Aristotelis*, in December 1517. The types used in this little booklet are identical with those found in the *Formalitates* of Antonius Sirectus, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in London about 1513 for Henry Jacobi the bookseller, who had opened a shop in Oxford in 1509.

Scolar next proceeded to print *Questiones super libros*

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *The English Provincial Stationers . . . to 1557*. Cambridge, 1912.

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*ethicorum Aristotelis*, under a privilege granted by the Chancellor of the University, for seven years. As the book was finished in 1518, this is one of the earliest examples of privileges granted to printers for particular books. On the title-page is John Scolar's device, embodying the arms of the University, the book with seven seals and the three crowns, but with a motto that ran: "Veritas liberavit, bonitas regnavit." The *Questiones* was followed by *De luce et lumine*, a little pamphlet of eight leaves only, which has on the title-page a woodcut of the Magi, evidently belonging to some *Book of Hours*. This appeared in June 1518, and in the same year appeared another of W. Burley's writings, the *Principia*, also consisting of only eight leaves, and having on the title-page a woodcut of a master and scholar, and at the end a cut of the Royal Arms, recognised as one used by De Worde. In addition to this, there also came from Scolar's press, in 1518, Whittington's *De heteroclitis nominibus*. There has also been found an undated edition of the *Opus insolubilium*, which was perhaps the first book he printed.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of some fragments of a prognostication, all Scolar's books were of an educational character; but after this brief career of two years nothing more is heard of him, but 1519, another printer, per-

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *The English Provincial Stationers . . . to 1557*. Cambridge, 1912, p. 69.

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haps an apprentice of his, named Charles Kyrforth, stepped into his place and produced a *Compotus manualis ad usum Oxoniensis*, a work on arithmetic illustrated with diagrams. As it was sold by John Dorne the bookseller for one penny, it, like Scolar's publications, must have consisted of only a few leaves. The title-page had an elaborate woodcut divided into three sections. The uppermost shows a row of books. The middle has a master, crowned with laurel, seated at a desk, with scholars on each side of him. The bottom panel shows five men in gowns holding books. Only one copy of the work is known, now in the University Library of Cambridge. After this spasmodic effort, Kyrforth disappears. The printing of educational works was clearly not a paying business, and for the second time Oxford was left without a printer.

Passing now to the sister University, printing was not introduced into Cambridge until 1521. Jan Siborch, or Jan van Siborch, has been identified with Johannes Lair de Siborch, at whose expense Eucharius Cervicornus, printer at Cologne, printed, in 1520, Richard Croke's *Introductiones in rudimenta græca*. Evidently then Siborch, or as he preferred to be called, Siberch, began as a bookseller in the town.

In 1899 there was discovered in the binding of a book in the Library at Westminster Abbey some interesting manuscript fragments, including a piece of the manuscript of the *Introductiones* and a letter to John Siberch from an

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acquaintance, also a bookseller, named P. Kaetz. Siberch had evidently sent him a specimen of the type he intended to use when he set up as a printer, and Kaetz expresses his approval of it, and says that Siberch should get plenty of work. He further reported that he was sending Siberch 25 *Prognostications* and 3 New Testaments.<sup>1</sup> There is also an entry in Grace Book D, which shows that in the year beginning September 1520, the University advanced him a sum of twenty pounds. The object of the grant is not stated, but it was probably to enable him to start his press.

Siberch's printing office stood on a space between the Gate of Humility and the Gate of Vertue, belonging to Gonville and Caius College, on part of the ground now occupied by the Avenue in Tree Court. The premises were known by the sign of the *Arma Regia*.

As Siberch's name does not occur in the Subsidy Roll covering the year from the 22nd April 1523 to the 21st April 1524, he apparently ceased work in the early part of the year 1523. During that short period he printed nine books and bound many. His first printed book was Dr Henry Bullock's *Oration before Wolsey*, when the cardinal visited Cambridge in 1520. The roman type with which it was printed is very much like Pynson's, and that

<sup>1</sup> *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders and the First Cambridge Printer*, by George J. Gray. Bibliog. Soc. Monographs, No. xiii., 1904.

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is all that can be said about it. No running titles or pagination and no ornaments of any sort are found in it: but the press work was praiseworthy. The colophon ran: "Impressa est haec oratiūcula Cantabrigiæ, per me Ioannem Siberch, post natum saluatorem, Millesimo quingentesimo uicesimo primo. Mense Februario." He followed this up a month or two later with Augustine's sermon, *De miseria ac breuitati vitæ*, a small book of twelve leaves. In this he used a Greek type, the first movable Greek type used in England. On the title-page are two upright woodcuts, no doubt from some foreign *Horæ*. They resemble in every detail two of a set used in a *Book of Hours*, printed at Kirchheim.<sup>1</sup>

Siberch's third book, Lucian's *περὶ διαψαδων*, was probably issued in June 1521, with a reissue of Henry Bullock's *Oration*. The title-page is surrounded by an architectural border, with the device of the Arma Regia, in allusion to his sign, in the bottom panel. This border is frequently described as an early example of English copperplate engraving: but this is a mistake, as the border was certainly a woodcut block. Only four copies of this book are known.

The Lucian was followed later in the year by Baldwin's *Sermo de altaris sacramento*. In this book two sentences were printed in Greek, and Siberch's upright block of

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *English Provincial Printers, etc.* Cambridge, 1912, p. 78.

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the Arma Regia, a much more elaborate and carefully executed cut than that which forms part of the border, is used for the first time. There are two states of this book, one in which the word "Reverendissimi" is spelt "Reverndissimi," and the catchword at the bottom of folio 1<sup>b</sup> is wrong, and while the first is corrected in the second state the mistake in the catchword was left uncorrected.<sup>1</sup> In this book a six-line woodcut initial S is used for the first time. It is extremely difficult to explain the appearance of this and other woodcut initials in Siberch's books. Until a much closer study has been made of English woodcut initials of the sixteenth century than any yet undertaken, their history is shrouded in doubt and uncertainty, and it is in the highest degree rash to say that such and such a design belonged to such and such a printer. Every new design that made its appearance was immediately copied, and copied so closely that only by putting the various sets side by side and examining them minutely can they be distinguished from one another. Initial letters such as Siberch used were also in use by Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Peter of Treves, and other printers in London. Siberch's woodcut initials may have been obtained from London, or they may have been copies of those used by London men. Only very close comparison could settle the point. One, if

<sup>1</sup> *John Siberch, the First Cambridge Printer, 1521-22*, by George J. Gray. Cambridge, 1921.

## *Provincial and Scottish Presses*

not more, of the initials seen in Siberch's books are later on seen in the books of Robert Wyer, who may have purchased them on Siberch's cessation from business, unless they too were copies.

The fifth work to come from his press was Erasmus's book, *De conscribendis epistolis*. This was the largest book Siberch had so far printed, consisting of eighty leaves or 160 pages. The title-page was surrounded with the Arma Regia border. The type was the same as that in use in the *Oratio*; a few words in Greek type occur in the Address to the Reader; but the book is specially notable for the six-line initials found in it, which are very clearly printed. The work was dedicated to John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and it bears on its title-page the words, "Cum gratia & priuilegis," but whether this was granted by the king or the Chancellor of the University, there is nothing to show.

The commonest of Siberch's books is *Galenī Pergamensis de Temperamentis*, his sixth and largest book, and it is believed to have been printed about December 1521. There is an interesting bibliographical history attaching to this book. In its first state the work contained only the *De Temperamentis*, with the signatures A—P<sup>4</sup>, Q<sup>6</sup>, with the end of the text arranged in hour-glass fashion. On the reverse of the penultimate leaf is a woodcut of the Adoration of the Shepherds and the colophon. On the verso of the last leaf is the printer's device.

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It was afterwards decided to add another of Galen's writings, the *De inequali intemperie*. In order to do this the last two leaves of the first issue (sigs. Q<sup>5</sup> and Q<sup>6</sup>) were cancelled, and two new sheets, R<sup>4</sup> and S<sup>6</sup>, added. This alteration substituted ten leaves for two. The additions were also printed in a different form, side-notes being added, and the leaves were numbered (fo. lxxv to lxxiii), whereas the *De Temperamentis* had no foliation. Another state of the book is seen in the copy now in the Library of the Royal College of Physicians, which contains the first issue with the end leaves uncanceled, but with the additional sheets added. The woodcut of the Adoration is used only in this book when in its first state. It is stated to be a Low Country woodcut of about the year 1485. Some copies of the Galen, in its second state, were printed on vellum, and two of them are found in Oxford, one in the Library of All Souls College, and the other in the Bodleian.

Siberch's seventh book was *Johannis Roffensis episcopi . . . contio . . . in latinum per Richardum Pacæum*. The occasion of this sermon was the burning of Luther's writings in the presence of thirty thousand people. On the title-page is seen the six-line initial C, showing St George and the Dragon, one of the best of the series, and also Siberch's upright block of the Royal Arms. The preface was dated, "Kalend. Januarii 1521" (*i.e.* 152 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). In this book the printer used a new device: His initials and mark

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within an intertwined ribbon border, white on a black background, a striking device unlike any other in use in England. In connection with this book Mr G. J. Gray of Cambridge found an interesting series of letters, written on behalf of Bishop Fisher by his chaplain, Richard Sharpe, to Dr Nicholas Metcalfe, Master of St John's College, an account of which he gave in *The Library* (April 1913). In one Dr Sharpe says—"Moreouer syr ye shall receyve of this berer my lordes sermon in ynglysshe which he prayeth you to put to Wynkyn to print and he prayethe you to speke to Jhon Gowghe to see it diligently done and trewly printed. He signifyethe to Mr Secretary that he puttes this to Wynkyn and desyreth of hym one in latyn."

Siberch's last dated book was the *Hermathena* of Papyrius Geminus, printed on the 8th December 1522. In this work an attempt was made to introduce a new kind of title-page, which is found in three states. The first has no ornament. In the second, the upper part of the title has a frame made by two border pieces joined at the sides with printers' rules. In the final state, a third border piece was added at the bottom of the page, and the whole enclosed within printers' rules. The printer's trade-mark and colophon are found on the recto of the last leaf and his upright block of the Royal Arms on the verso. A copy with the title-page in the first state is now in the University

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Library, Cambridge, having belonged to Henry Bradshaw. Three copies are known in the second state, at Dublin, Lincoln, and St John's, Cambridge, and two copies on vellum, one of which is in the British Museum, have the title-page in the third state. In addition to this the first sheet of this book in the third state was amongst the interesting lot of fragments found by the late E. G. Duff in the binding of a book in the Chapter Library at Westminster in 1889.

To that find we owe the discovery of the ninth book printed by Siberch, an edition of the grammar by W. Lily and Erasmus, *De octo orationis partium constructione libellus*, two leaves of this work being amongst the waste that lined the boards of that book.

Siberch's bindings were amongst the best produced in England during the early sixteenth century. He used a very fine roll believed to be of English design, embodying a pomegranate, portcullis, Tudor rose, and three fleurs-de-lis, with his initials all crowned. In addition to this he also used a Netherlandish panel of seven dancing figures—four men, two women, and a piper. Another of his rolls shows a dragon, a griffin, and a hare. Two very fine reproductions of Siberch's bindings are given in Mr G. J. Gray's *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders*, 1904, Plates XX, XXI. Siberch's earliest roll is found afterwards in the possession of Nicholas Spierinck, who made

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a very poor attempt to alter the die containing his initials by substituting an N. over the J. The result is seen in the binding of J. Faber's *Notæ . . . in Aristot. libb. polit. et æcon.*, 1526, reproduced by Mr Gray in Plate XV.

Next to London and the Universities the most important city in England was York. It shared with Canterbury the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the country. From the point of view of trade, its position was second only to London, and a guild of text writers and illuminators had been in existence there from the days of Edward III. They were very jealous of their privileges and, like their brothers in London, looked upon the new art of printing books with suspicion and alarm. Consequently the only printed book connected with York in the fifteenth century is a *Breviary* for York use printed at Venice in 1493. The colophon tells us that it was printed to the order and at the costs of Frederick Egmont, a stationer who had settled in England, possibly as the agent of the Venetian printer Johannes Hertzog de Landoia, by whom this *Breviary* was printed, and who printed many other liturgical books for the same stationer.<sup>1</sup>

The first stationer found on the freeman's rolls of the city was Frederick Freez, who was admitted in 1497, and against whom Richard Pynson of London brought an action in 1505. In another lawsuit held at York in 1510,

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *Provincial Printers*, pp. 42-58.

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he is described as a "buke prynter"; his name, however, is not found in any colophon. Frederick had a brother Gerard, who for some unexplained reason preferred to be known by the name of Wandsforth.

In 1507 Pierre Violette, a printer in Rouen, printed for Gerard Freez an edition of the *Expositio hymnorum et sequentiarum*. This was really a Sarum Hymnal; but in order not to prejudice its sale in the North, the words *ad usum Sarum* were omitted from the title.

Gerard Wandsforth died at the latter end of the year 1510, his will being dated the 3rd October. In it occur the following bequests: "To Richard Watterson of London xl.s, to the which Richard Mr Wynkyn de Word can inform you." "Mr Wynkyn xl.s which I howght him." He named his brother Frederick, Ralph Polan, a goldsmith of York, and Mr Meyner Weywick of London, his executors.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that in the name "Watterson" we have a variant of Watson, and if that be so, it is interesting to note that a Henry Watson was at that time an apprentice of Wynkyn de Worde, with whom evidently Gerard Wandsforth had business dealings, as indeed did all the York printers and stationers.<sup>2</sup>

Maynard Warwyke or Weywick was a co-partner

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers*, 1903, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Duff, *The English Provincial Printers, etc., to 1557*. Sanders Lectures, Cambridge, 1912, p. 48.

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with the stationer and Ralph Polan or Pulleyn in a purchase of 252 missals, 399 portifers, and 570 picas; all printed on paper, the whole of which were consigned to the care of Wandsforth, who stored them in a room in his house of which Ralph Pulleyn had a key. Immediately on Wandsforth's death Pulleyn took possession of all the books in the house and carried them off. On being remonstrated with, he declared that he had advanced the deceased stationer money for his business, and was justified in what he did. The dispute was eventually settled by arbitration.<sup>1</sup>

A fragment of an early York *Horæ* is among the Bagford fragments in the British Museum. It was a 32mo, printed in black and red, in a type closely resembling Pynson's; and the lawsuit of 1505, which was for a debt of £5, 10s. 6d., may have had reference to the printing of this book.

The first book known to have been printed in York was a service book, a *Pica* or *Directorium* of York use. The printer was Hugo Goes, of whose history nothing is known. It has been suggested that he was related to Matthias van der Goes, a printer at Antwerp, but there is nothing to support the assumption. The book was an octavo, and the colophon, which is in Latin, states that it was printed at York by Hugo Goes, living in the street

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *History of the York Press*.

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called Steengate, in the year of our Lord 1509, and the 18th day of the month of February. The type has been recognised as one of De Worde's founts, which he had sold on his removal from Westminster to Fleet Street. Only two imperfect copies of this *Directorium* now exist, one being in its rightful place in the library of York Minster and the other in the library of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge.

While this is the only known example of Hugh Goes' work as a printer, there exists a record of two other books printed at the same press. In the British Museum there is a copy of a book compiled by a barrister of York, Christopher Hildyard, in 1664, entitled, *A list or catalogue of all the Mayors and Bayliffs, Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of the most ancient, honourable, noble and loyall city of Yorke*.<sup>1</sup> This copy has numerous MS. notes, one of which relates to these books: "a gramer printed at Yorke, which doth beare this title viz. Incipit Donatus minor cum Remigio ad usum pusillorum Anglicanarum scholarum," and ends thus, "Impressum Eboraci in vico q' nuncupat' Steengate per me Hugonem Goos," and an Accidence printed by the same printer Goose at Yorke as aforesaid; and there is bound up with the said book, viz.: "Iste sunt regule informationis prime secundum usum Magestri Johannis

<sup>1</sup> *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of York up to 1600*, by E. Gordon Duff. Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, vol. v. pp. 87 *et seq.*, 1899, 4to.

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Boothby seneoris," and ends, "Emprynted at London in Fleet streete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Word, Ano. Dni. M.ccccc. vi. Soe I doe conclude that that at Yorke was first printed, being all one caractor and first bound up. The book I have by me new bound up by Mr Mawburn of York, bookseller, 1667, July 12."

There is no reason for doubting the genuineness of this note.

There are also two notes in Ames' *Typographical Antiquities* about the work of Hugo Goes. In the first, he mentions a broadside which had a cut of a man on horseback, as, "Emprynted at Beverley in the Hyegate by me, Hewe Goes," with his mark or rebus of a great H and a goose. This broadside has not been traced; but no doubt Ames had good authority for his statement. The second is an unsupported assertion, that Goes was the printer of "a Latin grammar at London, in quarto, formerly amongst Lord Oxford's books."

This note may refer to a book mentioned by Bagford (Harl. MS. 5974.95), "Donatus cum Remigio impressus Londoniis per me Hugonem Goes and Henry Watson, with the printer's device H. G." It has already been mentioned that Wynkyn de Worde had an apprentice named Henry Watson, and in all probability he was identical with Goes' partner in the printing of that book.

The next printer in York whose work is known was

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Ursyn Milner. Born in 1481, the first mention of him occurs in the *Privy Purse Expenses* of King Henry VII.,<sup>1</sup> under the date of the 7th January 1502 (*i.e.* 1500 $\frac{2}{3}$ ), "For two new bokes bought of Ursyn." He was then just twenty-one, and beginning his career as a bookseller, before settling at York as a printer. In 1511 Ursyn Milner was one of the witnesses in the action brought by Frederick Wandsforth against his brother's executor, Ralph Polan or Pulleyn. At that time he was living in the parish of St Michael le Belfry, but afterwards moved to an address in the Precincts of York Minster. His first book is said by Ames to have been an edition of the *Festum visitationis Beate Marie Virginis*, who quotes the colophon, "Feliciter finiunt (?) festum visitationis beate Marie virginis secundum usum Ebor. Noviter impressum per Ursyn Milner commorantem in cimiterio Minsterii Sancti Petri." No copy of this book has been found, but if Ames' entry is correct, the probable date of printing was 1513. Another small service book that he printed about the same time is known from a copy found in the binding of a book in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and this has the colophon "[Impressum] Ebor. per me Ursin Mylner comme [rantem in] simiterio ministerii Sancti Petri."<sup>2</sup> This little book is an octavo,

<sup>1</sup> "Bibliographical Notes from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Seventh," by Henry R. Plomer, *The Library*, July 1913.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Duff, *English Provincial Printers*, 1912, pp. 55, 56.

## *Provincial and Scottish Presses*

has thirty-three and thirty-four lines to a page, and also a large initial P. Many of the lines end with printers' ornaments.

Mylner was made a freeman of the City of York in 1515-16, and moved to premises in Blake Street in the parish of St Helen. There he printed, in 1516, a Latin Syntax compiled by the grammarian Robert Whittington, entitled, *Editio de consinitate grāmatices et Constructione, nouiter impressa*. The title-page of this has a woodcut of a schoolmaster and pupils, which had formerly belonged to Wynkyn de Worde.

This book has the printer's device, a shield having upon it a mill and a sun hangs from a fruit-bearing tree, and has as supporters a bear and an ass, the former being a play upon his name Ursyn, while the mill on the shield stood for his surname. With this he used a second block oblong in shape, with his merchant's mark in the centre, his name on a ribbon, and the rose and pomegranate.

After this nothing more is heard of Ursyn Mylner, and until recently no other printer was known to have been at work in York during the lifetime of Wynkyn de Worde. This can no longer be said, as among the books belonging to Lord Middleton, lately sold by auction, was an imperfect copy of a Latin Accidence which, though wanting its title-page, retained its colophon, which is as follows:—

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

“Imprynted in yorke at the syne of the Cardynalles hat by Johan War Wyke. In the yere of our lorde god, MCCCCxxxii.”

The work is a quarto, printed in Black Letter. The printer was the son of Edward Warwyke, merchant, and took up his freedom as a stationer in York in 1529-30.

The first St Albans press, like that at Oxford, had ceased work in 1486, and it was not until the year of De Worde's death that another printer ventured to set up a press there, although there is said to be a *Breviary* of St Albans use which is believed to have been printed some years earlier. But in 1534 there appeared the *Life and passion of Seint Albon*. This book has no printer's name or place of printing, but is believed to have been printed by John Herford or Hertford, under the supervision of the Abbot Robert Catton. He continued printing there until 1539, when he moved to London.

Another monastery that possessed a press in the early part of the sixteenth century was that at Tavistock, in Devon. The printer was one of the monks, named Thomas Rycharde, and his first book was an edition of Boethius, *De consolatione philosophie*, a quarto, with the colophon, “Enprented in the exempt monastery of Tavestock in Denshyre By me Dan Thomas Rychard, monke of the sayd monastery, to the instant desyre of the ryght worshipful Mayster Robert Langdon, anno d. MDxxv.”

## *Provincial and Scottish Presses*

What was the object in procuring a press and type for the purpose of printing so common a work as the *De consolatione*, which could probably have been printed much more cheaply in London, it is difficult to understand. Still more puzzling is the fact, that after printing this nothing more is heard of this press for nine years, when another book, called *The Charter and Statutes of the Stannary*, made its appearance. Thomas Rychard's name does not appear in this, neither was it printed in the monastery, for the colophon simply states that it was printed in Tavistock, "ye xx day of August, the yere of the reygne off our soveryne Lord Kynge Henry ye viii the xxvi yere" (*i.e.* 1534). The only thing about it connecting it with the earlier work is the woodcut of the Almighty, which is found in both. Two books in nine years was a poor result, and one cannot help suspecting that the press was originally obtained with a view to printing service books; but that Dan Thomas Rycharde either had not the capital, or did not receive the support he expected, and the plan fell through. Evidently the press and its furniture had been removed from the monastery before the issue of the second book.

But if the output of the Tavistock press was poor, that at Abingdon was even poorer. The printer was John Scolar, who had printed a few school-books at Oxford, ten years before. The work undertaken in 1528 was a

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

much bigger thing than he had ever done before, no less than a *Breviary* for the use of the brethren of St Mary's Monastery.<sup>1</sup> The book was a quarto of no less than 358 leaves or 716 pages, printed in double columns of thirty lines to a page, without headlines, catch-words, or foliation.

Whether Scolar died, "in the odour of sanctity blessed," like the Jackdaw of Rheims, we do not know; nothing more is heard of him or of the Abingdon press.

Both Exeter and Hereford are intimately associated with the production of books in the sixteenth century; but no printing was done in either town, and the books referred to were, like the later books connected with York, printed abroad for booksellers or the agents of foreign printers.

Passing north into Scotland, we find a press established at Edinburgh in 1508. Its history is short and simple. In the previous year (1507), on the 15th September, King James IV., who was a great book lover, granted permission to two of his subjects, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, burgesses of Edinburgh, to import a press and letter for the purpose of printing law books, breviaries, and other works, special mention being made of "mess bukis, efter our awin scottis use, and with legendis of Scottis sanctis, as is now gaderit and ekit be ane Reverend

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Duff, *English Provincial Printers*, 1912, p. 99.

## *Provincial and Scottish Presses*

fader in God, and our traist consalour Williame bischope of abirdene.”<sup>1</sup>

The two men selected for this work were both of them known to the king. Walter Chepman was a merchant, wealthy and respected, who had received many favours at the royal hands.

Andrew Myllar had for some years carried on the business of a bookseller in the city. He not only imported books from England and the Continent, but also supplied the king with books.

The scheme of establishing a press in Scotland had evidently been the dream of these two men for years before they applied for and obtained the grant of 1507. Two books prove that Andrew Myllar was in France, learning the art of printing, in 1505 and possibly earlier. In 1878, M. Claudin the French bibliographer found an edition of the *Liber equivocorum*, with Myllar's name in the colophon, not as the printer but as the person responsible for the printing, and this discovery added to one made some years before, of Myllar's device in a copy of the *Expositio sequentiarum*, dated 1506, left no doubt in the matter. M. Claudin was of opinion that the law books were printed in the printing-house of L. Hostinque of Rouen, but this has been challenged by the late E. Gordon Duff, who stated that they are in the type used

<sup>1</sup> Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 1890, p. 8.

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

by P. Violette of Rouen. As further proof, he drew attention to the fact that the woodcut of the master on the title-page of the *Garlandia* is also found on the title-page of the *Expositio Hymnorum*, printed in 1507 by P. Violette for the York stationer Gerard Wandsforth, and the initial S found in Myllar's *Expositio sequentiarum* is also seen in the Sarum *Missal* printed in 1509 by Violette.<sup>1</sup>

Chepman and Myllar lost no time in getting to work, as in April 1508 they issued a series of Scottish poems. The earliest of these is believed to have been William Dunbar's version of the ballad of the *Maying and disport of Chaucer*. In this appear the devices of both the partners, Chepman's on the title-page and Myllar's on the verso of the last leaf. Chepman's device was a close copy of that of P. Pigouchet, the printer of Paris,<sup>2</sup> and consisted of his initials on a shield hanging from a tree and having for supporters a wild man and woman. At the bottom on a ribbon is his name in full (M'Kerrow, 29).

Myllar's device was a play upon his name, a windmill with a miller with sacks on his back going up a ladder. On a shield hanging from the bottom part of the mill was the printer's merchant mark, and in the two upper are

<sup>1</sup> "Notes on a Leaf of an Early Scottish *Donatus* . . .," by E. Gordon Duff. Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Session 1892-93, *Transactions*.

<sup>2</sup> Silvestre, 71.

## *Provincial and Scottish Presses*

shields with three fleurs-de-lis on each, and at the bottom of the block is his name in full (M'Kerrow, 22).

As this device is found first in a book printed at Rouen for Myllar, it was possibly cut there. A similar device with the name Johan Moulin is found on a binding in the Bodleian Library (Dickson and Edmond, p. 47).

The most important work produced at this press was the *Aberdeen Breviary*. This service book, which was intended to supersede the Anglican use of Sarum, was mainly the work of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, through whose influence, there is little doubt, King James was persuaded to make his grant to Chepman and Myllar. The *Breviary* was an octavo in two volumes. In the first, the *Pars Hyemalis*, a large Black Letter (120 mm.) was used for the title-page, which was printed in red and black. The text throughout was a much smaller fount (60 mm.), and the press work was done very slovenly.

Myllar did not live to see the accomplishment of this work, as nothing is heard of him after 1508, and he is presumed to have died in that year. The first volume ended with a Latin colophon to this effect:—

“The end of the winter section of the *Breviary* of Aberdeen, principally according to the use of the Scottish Church, by the care and at the charges of the honourable gentleman Walter Chepman, merchant of the town of

## *Wynkyn de Worde*

Edinburgh in Scotland. On the 1st of February, in the year 1509 from the birth of Christ, in the twenty-second year of the reign of James the fourth, the most illustrious king of the Scots.”

The colophon to the second volume states that the work was compiled by “William Bishop of Aberdeen, with special care and very great labour, not only for general use in his own church of Aberdeen, but also for that of the whole Church of Scotland. Printed in the town of Edinburgh, by the command and at the charges of the honourable gentleman Walter Chepman. . . .” On the verso of the leaf is Chepman’s device.<sup>1</sup> As Chepman was not a practical printer, the inference is that the work was completed by Myllar’s workmen, and when it was finished, the printing office was closed.

Before leaving the first Scottish press attention may be drawn to a paper read by the late E. G. Duff before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society on 15th December 1892. In this he drew attention to a fragment of a Scottish *Donatus* which he had discovered in the binding of a book in King’s College Library, Aberdeen. He pointed out that express permission had been given by the royal grant to Chepman and Myllar to print books of the kind, and that the Privy Council had distinctly named the *Donatus* as one of the books that was not to be imported into Scotland to the

<sup>1</sup> Dickson and Edmond, *Annals*, pp. 86-99.

## *Provincial and Scottish Presses*

hurt of Walter Chepman's edition, and he suggested that the fragment belonged to one printed by Myllar and Chepman. The type with which it was printed was a Black Letter, which wanted both a lower-case "w" and "k," the latter being made up with a lower-case "l" and "v," and hollow paragraph marks were used. A facsimile of the fragment was issued with the paper.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Session 1892-3, 15th December.



INITIAL. R. PYNSON. c. 1500

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